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THE
ROMAN REPUBLIC
OF 1849;

WITH ACCOUNTS OF
THE INQUISITION,

AND

The Siege of Rome,

AND

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

WITH ORIGINAL PORTRAITS.

By Theodore Dwight, 1796 1800

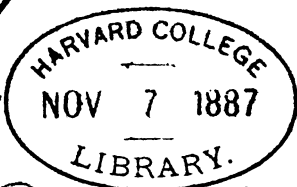
AUTHOR OF A "TOUR IN ITALY, IN 1820, and 21," &c. &c.

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INTRODUCTION.

There is no country in the world regarded with greater interest by many educated Americans than Italy, and none of the nations of antiquity more admired than the old Romans. The course of our classical education fosters such a taste ; and many of our most esteemed writers, as well as those of England and other countries, have done much to extend and perpetuate this influence of schools and universities. Some believe that the study of the languages, customs and deeds of heathen people are made to engross too much of the time and thoughts of our youth, leaving them too ill taught in what relates to Christianity and the present state of the world, and with false opinions which render them less prepared to be useful and happy in American society. Without expressing any opinion on this question, important as it is, we may safely declare, that Italy presents great claims to our attention in her ancient history, and much more than it has hitherto excited among us, on account of important and instructive scenes, events and characters of which it was the theatre in the time of the Reformation, and, in later years, down to the present day. To acquaint the reader more particularly with the history of the last mentioned period is the design of this work : for circumstances, which will be fully explained here-

after, have rendered it necessary, that the truth should be laid distinctly before Americans, as the true Italian question, especially as regarded and sustained by the Roman Republicans, is a question essentially our own, and all other questions now pending in Europe are of secondary interest to us, or rather derive their consequence only or chiefly from their relations to that. Exertions are indeed made, to produce the opposite opinion: but by persons whose views and convictions afford evidence enough for us, that they are insincere.

It may be well for the Italians, that so many things concur to give a high eminence in our minds to every thing connected with the scenes of ancient Roman greatness. The country and the race are associated with the recollection of past days; and an American can hardly rest satisfied until he has stood on the ground where some of his favorite scenes were acted, in those long past days, which our fancy has invested in colors of its own choosing. And those of us, who have gratified this strong desire, must ever be ready to acknowledge that the reality has not disappointed us. What traveler in Italy does not look back upon his journeys with pleasure? It is true that most of us have expressed regret at the degradation of the people themselves, and come home confirmed in the common opinion, that the Italians of modern days are a very degenerate race, and neither desire nor deserve a better lot than that which they have to endure. These opinions, it is easy to perceive, are generally founded on very hasty and superficial grounds: for not one of our travelers in fifty, it may be presumed, is able to converse with the people in

their own language; and, of those who can, only a small proportion have both time, opportunity and disposition to make a careful examination, and to form deliberate and consistent decisions.

It is true, there are some facts in modern history, which are not easily reconcilable with the doctrine, that the Italians have lost all the virtues of their ancestors, or predecessors, as some insist on calling them. Those who are acquainted with the history of the sixteenth century in Italy, know that the Italians were among the very foremost in the great moral and intellectual Reformation of the time; and that, with all the boasted superiority of the Teutonic and even the Anglo Saxon race, neither Germany nor England could have survived the power of the combined enemies, who overwhelmed the friends of truth and freedom south of the Alps as well as of the Pyrenees. The history of the Reformation in Italy, within a few years recovered to the world by the learned and devoted Dr. McCrie, is a chapter indispensable to the present day, without which the most intelligent reader cannot be well qualified to speak of the present state of the world or its prospects. And in later days also the character of the Italians has suffered through the ignorance of other nations, and especially of Americans: for, while they have borne the blame, not only of enduring the oppression of their spiritual rulers, but also of sustaining the system which destroys them and millions of other men, the simple truth is that they have made repeated and heroic efforts to overthrow it forever, and would have succeeded, in several instances, but for the interfer-

ence of foreign nations, who have overcome their otherwise unconquerable opposition by the force of gunpowder and bayonets, or by a false and corrupt system of diplomacy. Englishmen have often reproached the Italians, with their degeneracy: but England has joined with other powers, in more than one instance, in this impertinent, unjust, oppressive policy, such as she herself would never have submitted to, while she had a single plank afloat on the ocean, or a grain of saltpetre in her soil—at least, so every Englishman would be ready to boast;—and, if the question were put to us, Americans would answer in the same terms. If, when brought to the trial, they or we would act as heroically as the Italian patriots have done, over and over again, the world and we might well be satisfied. That either of us would do better, we may perhaps suppose possible, when we show a due appreciation of those who have set an example more self-denying, persevering and noble, than we, or almost any other people, have ever had even an opportunity to emulate.

And what shall we say of our own position, and the part we have taken in the affairs of Italy? We may feel an honorable pride in remembering, that our government was not *openly* a party to the restoration of the Pope in 1815 or 1849, by force of arms; or in suppressing in blood the efforts made between those epochs to cast off the intolerable yoke of the Pope and his allies. But what room is there for boasting, or what excuse for self-gratulation can a people have, whose agents abroad and whose statesmen at home have generally shown extreme ignorance and indifference towards the character and claims of Italians, and too

often have used their official influence against them ! Let any person review the opinions expressed in certain quarters, at important crises, and let him see the connection, sometimes palpable enough, between words and actions, at home and abroad, and say whether it is not time for disinterested men to speak plainly, and express proper indignation at the discredit thus brought upon our country, and the utter perversion of our true principles and policy, to the irreparable injury of men and nations, whom our ancestors would have loved and honored, for the noble part they have taken on the theatre of the world.

How different would have been our standing abroad, the state of opinions at home, and the results upon some distant regions of the earth, if we had had representatives of a different character at a few foreign posts ! Would the best patriots and philanthropists have been belied by authority in our journals ?

Let us make what amends we may in time to come. Those who, the last year, established freedom in Rome, both civil and religious, have not been finally destroyed or disheartened, through our neglect, or opposition. Let our rulers and diplomatists, our writers and our foreign representatives throw away the mists of misrepresentation and prejudice, look the subject calmly in the face, form independent opinions and act like men, Americans and Christians, in a manner consistent with our professed principles, the example of our ancestors and our own true interests. Above all, let the people turn, while it is not too late, to consider the important questions involved, form their own conclusions, and insist that truth, honor and justice shall be regarded

by those who stand up to speak and act in their name. And let Christians understand the conflict which is going on in Italy, so that they may perceive it to be the grand contest between truth and falsehood, liberty and oppression, real and counterfeit Christianity ; where honor and magnanimity on the one side stand with the olive branch and the Gospel, and duplicity fawns on the other, with fetters for the body and the mind, and a sword for those who refuse to wear them. Let American Christians also understand, that the friends of liberty, truth and virtue desire their aid to conquer their deadly enemies, by a sword indeed, but only "the sword of the Spirit, the word of God."

. To the distinguished personal friends of the author, who have kindly sat for their portraits for this volume, he has been indebted for much valuable information.

The Roman Republic.

CHAPTER I.

Most of the great events in Rome unanticipated.—The good conduct of the people and their government therefore the more surprising.—Causes not understood.—How to account for it.

The overthrow of the Roman Republic by the French is one of the most unaccountable measures in the history of Europe, to those who do not view aright the influence of popish infidelity over national character, and the nature, objects and power of Jesuit and diplomatic intrigues in the direction of national affairs. To one who makes proper allowances for these, nothing will excite surprise, merely because it is wrong, injurious, or inconsistent with itself, in a people or a government where they are in operation. Different opinions will naturally enough be formed by different persons even of the latter class, respecting some parts of the machinery employed, or the numerous probable objects aimed at, in the complicated affairs of French interference: but who can doubt, that Louis Napoleon was the tool, that the Jesuits were the schemers, that the diplomatists were the abettors, that ambition and superstition were the means

used upon several subordinate assistants, and that the ends were the disgrace of one republic, and the overthrow of another, with the destruction, or at least the long delay of religious liberty and the restoration of popery. Louis Napoleon no doubt looks to the Sovereigns for a reward, as he has made France disgrace republicanism at home by suppressing it, in a much purer form, among a superior race, and in a much more important position, abroad.

But, while a terrible blow has thus been given to civil and religious liberty in Europe, there are abundant evidences to show that it is by no means a fatal one. On the contrary, thousands of men have been convinced, by this very means, of some of the truths most important to be known, but most difficult to be taught. No Pius Ninth, or any other pope, will ever again convince a single intelligent friend of freedom, that popery is any thing but its irreconcilable enemy ; and why and how it is so, as well as when and where, we can all understand, at least somewhat better, than ever before. The world also has a lesson, which ought to be an instructive one, on the fundamental difference between professions of a love of freedom founded on infidel speculations, and liberal principles springing from the rights of man as defined and taught by the Word of God ; between a republic that bows its neck to a pontiff, and one whose people address him these words from the city of Rome itself : "When you left Rome the Bible entered it : it is in the hands of the people, translated into Italian. They have read it : and in it they find *neither popery nor Pope*. We choose to return to the faith of our fathers !"

Almost every one of the great events which occurred in Rome

within the last three years was unexpected, and therefore the changes of measures and of government which that city has passed through were not the results of arrangements deliberately made before hand. Pius Ninth was elected by mistake, he declared himself in favor of improvements to the astonishment of all, his policy as well as his professions were suddenly changed unexpectedly to most, though not all, the revolutions of 1848 came unlooked for, and the successes and reverses of the Italian patriots were alike unforeseen. The plot, formed by the Jesuits and undertaken by the Austrians, for the murder of the pope and the leaders of the liberals in Rome and the restoration of the old system, was detected and frustrated in an instant. The three chief councillors of Pius, who induced him to adopt his liberal policy, unexpectedly died shortly after this defeat of the Jesuits, probably by their poisons; and then his opposite policy was as suddenly adopted, under the influence of new councillors, appointed by them. The prime minister, Rossi, was killed on the steps of the capitol, by some hand unknown; and this blow, unexpected as it was, was used to terrify the pope and induce him to make a sudden flight. In the National Assembly an unexpected motion was made, to disavow for ever his temporal power, and to proclaim a republic. Both these measures were adopted, by nearly unanimous votes. To the surprise of the world, the people proceeded to elections by universal suffrage, without violence or disorder; and their representatives assembled and conducted their proceedings with dignity, unanimity, moderation and wisdom, and with a spirit most honorable to their intelligence, liberality and patriotism. A new system was suddenly introduced among the people: both civil and

religious liberty were established. Yet, new as they were, the Romans conformed in everything, as if they had been long habituated to them. But the general tranquillity and joy were suddenly interrupted by events as unexpected as any of the preceding. The armies of four nations, at the invitation of the Pope, violated their soil on four of its frontiers, and the capital was soon besieged by 40,000 French soldiers. No man could have believed, a few weeks before, that the French republic, so boastful of its new name, could have been brought to overthrow a younger and sister state, which had been brought into existence partly by her example. But, even during the six weeks' siege and the cruel bombardment which Rome endured from the French, as during the bloody battles which preceded them, the Romans conducted with all the energy and unanimity which had before distinguished them ; and, when the invaders finally gained their end, and forced their way into the city, the same high traits of character were uniformly displayed, by the government and the people.

In all the changes, we repeat, which the Romans have passed through in the last three years, they have conducted well. They have conducted in fact so well, as not only to deserve our approbation in almost every particular, but as to excite our surprise. If the different changes had been long foreseen and carefully and deliberately prepared for by wise men, it is difficult to say how they could have been better met. Under the circumstances the results appear very remarkable, and loudly claim the attention of men interested in the state and prospects of mankind, and particularly of that important country, Italy. It is not saying too much to declare, that, if the Romans had acted exactly

the opposite of what they did, when each of the changes occurred which have been enumerated above, Americans would not have been disappointed, but less surprised than they were at the steps which they actually adopted at the successive emergencies. It would have been only what we were prepared for, by our common opinion of their character, if Pope Pius IX. had met much opposition to his pretended wish for improvement, and the Austrians many friends to their plot for the destruction of himself and his policy; if the mass of the people, under Ciccero-nacchio, had been a lawless mob, instead of an orderly army of citizen soldiers and watchmen; if the Constituent Assembly had proved ignorant, incompetent, full of theories, fancies, and phrenzies, like that of France, with constituents like theirs, divided into several blood-thirsty parties, killing one another by thousands, and all combining to disgrace republicanism abroad and at home, ignorant of it all, except in name; Americans would have said, as many now say of the French: "That is what might have been expected." Or if the leading Romans had betrayed personal ambition, rapacity, treachery, cowardice or fickleness, who could have anticipated any thing better, from their education and habits?

The Romans have conducted in a manner contrary to all that was expected. Of this there are the most numerous and palpable evidences. What are the causes? Here is a question as yet not published in a distinct manner, yet not difficult of discovery to any one who has access to the history of events in Italy for the last few years, and who begins with correct views on some points of earlier history not generally understood. For there have always been in Italy many enemies to the papacy;

and their numbers has been greatly increased in later years, until they now form the majority, and in the Roman States a very great majority.

Every system of oppression must have enemies ; and popery is one of the most severe and intolerable that ever weighed down a people. The number of its opposers is better known to its executioners than to the world, from which they have been so effectually, and so cruelly severed, by hundreds and thousands, in the course of many centuries, by prison, poison, torture, fire, burying alive, starvation, and other ingenious forms of cruelty and murder. Many lips also have doubtless been kept silent, by the fears excited by such examples, threats made in secret and the terrors inspired by superstition.

In late years many Italians have learned their rights, by visiting Protestant countries, by reading Protestant books, and especially by studying the Word of God. Wherever one of them is found, who proves to be a decided foe of popery, he has claims on our sympathy and confidence : but when we become assured, that his opposition is founded on correct views of Christianity, our confidence in him should be increased. And this is the fact with the great mass of those who have combined against popery in our day ; and the grand secret which Americans have yet to learn, to account for the extraordinary spectacle presented by Italy, is this, that the Italians have suddenly, and without the suspicion of the world, become devoted Protestants. Many have imagined that their recent revolutions were but the ebullitions of an ignorant, restless and unprincipled mass of men, ignorant of religion, infidels at heart, and mad for change, but at bottom miserably superstitious and fanatical, and ready at any moment

to turn and support again the system of stupid imposture and iron-hearted cruelty against which for a day they had rebelled. The French have given the world too much reason to form such an opinion ; and the Germans have added their dark testimony to the same side. But, however natural it may seem, to come to such conclusion from analogy, direct testimony can be afforded, strong and clear enough, to establish a different ground for the Italians.

CHAPTER II.

BRIEF view of the failure of the European Revolutions of 1848.—Misrepresentations of the Roman Republicans.—The right of the people to choose their own form of government admitted by precedent.—Importance of being prepared for self-government.—Necessity of a training under a constitutional monarchy examined.

It would require many pages fully to illustrate the commencement, progress, decline and close of the revolutions of 1848, 1849, in the different countries of Europe, even if we were capable of doing aright so interesting a service to the world. Without pretending ability to perform such a task, it will be appropriate to our limited space, and in accordance with known facts, briefly to give the following outline of the leading events of that period in Italy, the country to which our attention is chiefly directed.

The revolution of 1848 may be called, in an important sense, the Pope's revolution. Although the people were prepared for it, in different degrees, there is reason to think that, but for Pius IX., it would not have occurred so soon. He encouraged all friends of liberty to expect his aid, and doubtless gave new hopes and a strong stimulus to those most desirous of an immediate change. The Sicilians began the insurrection, chiefly, it is to be presumed, because they expected the Pope to be their

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barrier on the land, to keep out the Austrian armies, which in 1821 suppressed their efforts, when Sicily, in like manner, made the first movement. To France their example was a spark of fire in a magazine; and the explosion in Paris was the signal gun for the rest of Europe. The people of the various insurgent nations at once showed their power, and in many cases displayed honesty, magnanimity and humanity, as well as courage. But ignorance too often led to mistakes, and false principles or bad principles to extravagant doctrines or visionary projects; while a want of mutual acquaintance prevented mutual confidence, and the delay in establishing better governments, with the fear of prolonged or increased disorders, drew many to desire the restoration of the old system, on the best practicable terms. In several countries duplicity was resorted to by sovereigns, who professed themselves favorable to the people's wishes, and were believed, and trusted, until they had the opportunity to show a different disposition with all the power in their hands.

In the kingdom of Sardinia the same game has been played several times, and has been renewed since the triumph of the Papal party against Rome. The Piedmontese, being the most favorably situated to claim some of their rights from their government, have been encouraged in the attempt by their ministry, probably under the patronage of the diplomatists of England as well as other countries. But the pretences made of favoring religious reformation have already shown themselves false; and Austria stands ready to interfere, and restore things to their old footing, whenever the superior powers may think fit to take off their masks. Intelligent observers have seen through the design from the beginning, the prime minister Azelio, and

Lord Palmerston having made their line of policy well known by their previous course. The enemies of improvement, also, on this side of the ocean, had early notice of the scheme ; as was shown in ways which might be indicated.

Few causes have ever been so bitterly assailed, as that of the Roman Republic ; and there are many difficulties in the way of a common reader, who wishes to form a correct opinion of it. Yet there is still much reason to wonder, why so little feeling has been expressed in its favor in this country, after the occurrence of some of the leading events, which are known to the world, and are not and cannot be contradicted or misrepresented ; and since the publication of those eloquent and irresistible letters of Mazzini, which have been extensively re-published and greatly *admired* at least, in the United States. His letter to the French Ministers, Messrs. Tocqueville and Falloux, for example, must have been regarded, by every reader, as a tremendous piece of writing, difficult to be paralleled by any author in any language.

Among the objections made to the Roman Republic by objectors in this country, are these : that it was not appropriate to the people, nor approved by them. In certain other countries a still stronger objection is felt against that form of government itself. But in the United States, of course, no person would venture to give utterance to such a feeling, how much soever he might be an anti-republican at heart.

There are nations, we have reason to apprehend, who are not prepared to choose a republic, or to sustain one ; and the true friends of freedom do not wish to see it discredited elsewhere as it has been in France.

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It is therefore very appropriate and important to be able to answer the questions: Did the Romans desire a republic? Were they fit to form, to sustain, and to enjoy it? These questions may be best answered by facts: but, it will aid our inquiries, if we first consider what has been their preparation for it.

The Republic was declared at a remarkable epoch in the History of Rome. The people had made no preparations for it, and it cannot be proved, indeed it can hardly be supposed, that even the leaders of the people, the most decided enemies of the old system, or the warmest friends of improvement, had any anticipation of such a state of things. The Pope has all the responsibility of breaking down the old system, for he overthrew it, in fact, by deserting Rome, without giving notice of his intention, or leaving any representative to act in his place. He not only left the capital, and left it without even the appearance of a government: but he fled to the open and declared enemies of the country and of himself. Thus, in another, and emphatic sense, he deserted his throne, and abandoned the last shadow of a claim, to be regarded as the sovereign of Rome. Not only so, but he committed an act which would have been high treason in a public officer, or even in a humble citizen.

Now, those who believe that the sovereign power resides in the people, and that they have a perfect right to exercise it when they please, and to judge for themselves whether it has been abused by those with whom they have entrusted it, could have found no ground for objection with the Romans, if they had risen and deprived the Pope of his temporal power, a day,

a week, or a longer time before his flight. If they had deposed him, judged and condemned him as unworthy to govern them, would not England and other countries, including our own, have been required, by the precedent they had so lately established in acknowledging the French republic, to acknowledge the new government in Rome, whatever it might be? But the Pope compelled the people to adopt a new government; and surely the claim upon us and other nations to acknowledge it could not have been the less in consequence.

The Romans certainly had the right to adopt any government whatever; and France had less ground of pretense than any other country in Europe to object, especially as they chose a republic.

It is a very common opinion among Americans, that no people can become fit for a republican government, without a long preparation, under political institutions so managed as to be made more and more liberal or popular from time to time. This is founded on the belief, that habits, essentially necessary to the continuance of such a government, must be formed by practice, and that each step in the road of improvement must be made, as in a school, by slow degrees and under a peculiar arrangement. For proof of this we are referred to our own history; and indeed we there find that our ancestors, in England first and in America afterwards, advanced, from time to time; and we can trace at least some of the steps made between the days of Magna Charta and our own. On the other hand, we turn to other nations, who have endeavored to accommodate our institutions to themselves, like the South Americans, and find them very unsuccessful. We therefore, reasonably as many

think, come to the conclusion, that we have pursued the right course, and they a wrong one. We think they ought to have been content to take a smaller part of the liberty they grasped at, and patiently waited for the lapse of a few ages, to prepare them, or rather their successors, for what they, in common with all mankind, naturally and properly desire.

But what reasonable ground can we find, for recommending a course of constitutional monarchy to the Italians? The same history of England to which the appeal is made, presents a succession of retrogradations, breaking the line of advance at every moment, and often so irregularly as to prove, that the final results were too uncertain to be relied upon. Could we desire any other people to pass through the same or similar alternations? In order to try such an experiment, we must provide three conflicting powers at the outset: the royal, the aristocratic and the popular, and then set them clashing with one another, under the expectation that the last named will finally come off victorious, but only in consequence of being trained to victory by hard fighting and frequent defeats. Whether the advocates of this career would begin back as far as the war of the Roses, or the reign of Henry VIII, or the Bloody Mary, they do not tell us: but, unless they expect something better from another race than what we have seen in Anglo-Saxons, they must content themselves with a long succession of various scenes, including many of disappointment, defeat, oppression, and bloodshed.

And what are the improvements in the character or habits of a people, which we are told are to be thus introduced, in order to qualify them for self-government? They are to be accustomed to reflect on public affairs, by listening to the speeches of

their political orators and by reading newspapers. They are to be habituated to being governed by men of their own choice, and to choosing men qualified to govern them; and all this is supposed to require much time and education. They must be able to read, and of course must first be sent to school.

But was it really these means which trained our ancestors? How long have newspapers been numerous and influential enough, to have an important hand in affecting the English people? Do they owe much to schools, for the political wisdom they possess? Have they not learned much that is evil from their political men, and have not selfish motives, ignorance and other bad causes had powerful sway? Would it be certain, or even very probable, that any other nation would gain even as much as England has done in the same space of time, long as it has been? and her geographical position and other circumstances had great influence.

But there is a more definite and unanswerable objection to the plan for Italy. The people are entirely unaccustomed to it; and all their habits and traditions are opposed to it. In even the earliest times there have been but two kinds of government, in Italy: republics and despotisms. There never has been a constitutional monarchy, until that established so recently in the kingdom of Sardinia. The people have always vibrated from one extreme to another, whenever a change has been made. They never have stopped at the intermediate point. And how would it be possible to induce them to do it? Where could the aristocracy be found? Especially in Rome, how could the rival and often irreconcilable noble families be made to unite in a chamber of peers? The only aristocracy they have in Rome,

possessing power, is the priesthood ; and they are merely isolated men, without families, the creatures of the popes, destined to rise and fall at short intervals, to give place to others as they have followed their predecessors.

It would seem, then, that the idea of a course of constitutional monarchy for the education of Italians, has not a solid reason to recommend it ; and we may well wonder that it has found favor, or even tolerance, with sensible men. If we turn to republicanism however, do we find anything more worthy of our serious consideration ? Is it not a mere wild vagary, many, no doubt, are ready to ask, to suppose that they may be now prepared for self-government ? In reply we say, that many of their wisest and best men have been of the opposite opinion, and declared for a republic with the strongest decision. At the beginning of the revolution of 1848, preparations were made on all hands for popular forms of government ; and they would doubtless have been adopted, had not some of the monarchs stepped in, declared themselves devoted to the people's cause, and succeeded in obtaining their confidence and in being entrusted with power. Had not Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, possessed a powerful army, and pressed it forward against the Austrians, when the Lombards were in extreme want of assistance, the patriots would almost certainly have established a republic. Since the second treachery of that perfidious prince, it is morally certain that the Lombards will never again put any confidence in another monarch.

CHAPTER III.

WHAT is necessary to fit a people to establish and sustain a republic?
—Was the republic accepted by the Romans, and did they reject the government of the Pope?

And now let us see what it is that is so difficult in the establishment of a republic. The obstacles must differ in degree and sometimes in nature, according to the character, situation, and circumstances of a people. In some countries there may be more ignorance than in another of the change proposed, more attachment to existing institutions or leaders, more fear of those who advocate or of those who oppose them. The external difficulties or dangers may be greater in one case than in another: or the practical lessons before the eyes of the people may encourage hope or excite apprehension. But, if the great body of the nation are warmly in favor of a republic, and their leaders desire it, and possess the public confidence, what difficulty can we imagine to remain, except in the unfitness of those leaders on the one hand, or their ambition, treachery or fickleness on the other, or the interference of external enemies, either by intrigue or by force?

Any of these obstacles we may, in a given case, suppose to exist, and then fear the experiment of a republic, from humane regard to the people, believing that it will lead to sufferings

greater than those to which they will be liable without it. This we may feel while we are sincere friends of republicanism ourselves, and wish its benefits to be enjoyed by all mankind. In this all Protestant Americans agree : but the chief points of difference in our opinions respecting foreign countries, are traceable to their centre. Some of us believe it more difficult to establish republics in general or in particular countries, and others believe it to be less so. The reasons are various by which different men are brought to these different opinions ; and many persons have changed once or more in the course of their lives, while others appear to be in a continual state of indecision. We are naturally therefore, lead to inquire :

1st. Was the Republic accepted by the Romans ?

2d. Were the Pope and his civil government favorably regarded by the people ?

Before the Council of Trent, Rome was the Babylon of iniquity, vice and turpitude. We need not seek for proofs of this in the assertions of foreigners or of Protestants. That testimony might perhaps be doubted : but the opinion of the papal court, given by the most eminent Italian doctors, must convince even its most decided apologists and champions. It is not necessary to give quotations : but the reader is referred to Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Machiavelli, Ariosto, Giannone, Botta and other of the best Italian writers. The changes introduced among the Roman Catholic clergy and the papal court, by that Council, produced only small and transient good. The lower clergy were improved : but the upper hierarchy, beginning with the Pope, and passing through the Cardinals, Archbishops and Monsignori, remained almost as corrupt as before. The causes

of the disorders were not removed ; and their effects naturally continued. The chief causes were the riches and power concentrated in the higher clergy and the Prelature. From excessive wealth proceeded luxury, worldly pomp and criminal extravagances. From power were derived arrogance, abuses, oppression, vices and mismanagement by the civil government, and the Cardinals and Monsignori, who had the direction of it.

Thus it was that, at the epoch of the French invasion in 1796, the papal government was despised and even abhorred. There was no attempt made by the people to sustain it. The government fell, condemned and abandoned by all. The presumptuousness and scandalous conduct of the Cardinals and Monsignori who then governed the provinces, are still proverbial in Italy. Bad administrators of public affairs and the worst of all civil and economical institutions, naturally cannot long please the people. It is absurd to suppose the contrary. To say that the Italians, before 1796, loved and were content with the civil government of the Pope, is to affirm what cannot be sustained. What man or community can love what is seen and felt to be excessively pernicious ?

After 1796, the mismanagement and the evil effects of the papal government appeared to the people in a stronger light, in contrast with the new government established by the French, which was in many respects much better, more just and liberal. After that year, therefore, the Pope and his government were dead and odious in the opinion of the people. While Napoleon kept Pius VII. abroad, the Italians gave him not a thought or a feeling. A general indifference prevailed, as if the papacy had never existed. Thousands of Italians now living well remember

it. When the Pope was brought back to his ancient dominion, by the Austrian armies and the conqueror of Vienna, in 1815, he was received with no festivities or acclamations of a truly popular kind. Those which took place were expressly *ordered* by the government; and the Monsignori were obliged to pay the expense. All educated persons were either mourning or in anger at his return.

The proof of this we find in the fact, that, after the restoration of the Pontifical government, powerful liberal parties arose, which, by means of *secret societies* endeavored to undermine the odious Pontifical power. The Jesuits were insulted in Rome in 1817; in 1820 the Carbonari were very numerous in the Papal States; and there was the true centre of the Italian conspiracy. In 1831 such conspiracies were again formed, and also in 1834, without speaking of the movements in 1840 and 1844. In all those years hundreds of victims were sacrificed by the Papal government, on the scaffold, in prisons and in exile. In no other part of Italy were there so many trials and condemnations for *high treason*, as in the Pope's dominions. The population, during that period, were restless, hostile, convulsed and persecuted. It has been said, that the aversion and hostility displayed against the government, were confined to the easy and educated classes. It is true that they were more active than the ignorant, laboring people. But this is everywhere the fact. The latter are not so well acquainted with the evils and vices of a bad government; and, even when they know them, they have not time or means to proceed to action. The want of daily bread keeps them quiet and occupied with their labor. From the facts above given it appears perfectly plain, that the papal government was not, and

could not have been, acceptable to the Italian people. And, we may safely add, *it never will be.*

Was the Republic accepted by them ?

Facts speaks louder than words. When the Republic was proclaimed, after the flight of Pius IX., a large portion of the population held a jubilee, and the other part cheerfully rendered obedience to it, with calmness and dignity. There was no resistance, no violence, no protest against the Republic. The greatest enthusiasm was shown in Rome, Bologna, Perugia, Ravenna and almost all the cities in the Legations. But, when the people of the Papal States saw a French army attack Rome, with the intention of terrifying the Republic, and of bringing back the Pope, then—then the republican feeling showed itself indeed ardent, united and universal. From that moment our task becomes a sad and solemn, although a gratifying one, as we have to recount the proofs given by the people of their sincerity, often with their blood, and many of them still, every day and hour up to this moment, in prisons, exiles and a thousand sufferings, showing that the population of those states was heartily opposed to the pontifical government and in favor of the Republic.

As soon as it was known in the provinces that the French expedition was coming, all the municipalities of the cities, towns and villages hastened to send notice to the Constituent Assembly, professing devotion to the Republic, offering all their means for sustaining the Republic in its perils, and encouraging the Triumvirate to stand firm, in the defence of their noble cause.

All those addresses have been published ; and Mazzini quoted them, in his diplomatic letters to Lesseps, the French Minister Extraordinary. We have no room to copy them here.

Bologna and Ancona not only made those municipal addresses, but they armed and defended their cities for some days against the attacks of the Austrians. The Austrian General Wimpfen entered Ferrara, with a strong brigade of infantry, cavalry and artillery, while the citadel was still in possession of the Austrians, and the general requested the mayor to assemble the town council, and the principal citizens, to deliberate and decide whether the citizens were disposed again to accept the 'papal dominion ; or to remain devoted to the Republic. The meeting was held, and voted with great unanimity, though under the Austrian cannon : " *The Ferrarese intend to stand faithful to the Republic.*"

To return that magnanimous answer, under the existing circumstances, required great moral courage ; and that could have arisen only from a great abhorrence of the papal government and a real attachment to the Republic.

Therefore it may be said, that the republicans of the Roman States were not a party of criminals, as certain newspapers have said, and the Pope before them, as well as some of the bigotted members of the French National Assembly. They were the majority of the citizens. Speaking generally we may say all, all were republicans ; while the true criminal party, the malevolents, the malefactors, were the adherents of the Pope ; and these are still as much in the minority, after all their executions, imprisonments and exiles, as we might infer from the disarming of the people, the numerous foreign garrisons, the activity of the police, spies and priests, and jealous precautions taken to guard against every expression of popular feeling.

CHAPTER IV.

CLAIMS of the Roman Republicans on the sympathy of Americans.—
Reasons why they have not yet enjoyed it.—The nature of papal despotism.

The establishment of the Roman Republic, and the defence of the capital against a powerful French army, are facts demanding the attention of the world, and especially of Americans. These events alone, in their simplest form, afford sufficient evidence, to prove that our common opinions of the capacity and character of the Italians are erroneous ; for, if they had been so imbecile, unprincipled, cowardly, treacherous, or fickle a people as we have believed them to be, they would never have done what they did.

May we not then confidently call on our readers to sit down to consider their case with attention, as one promising new, and important information, and at the same time to divest themselves of pre-conceived opinions whose soundness there is any reason to doubt, and prepare themselves to receive testimony with all the impartiality which it deserves ?

There will, however, be two other obstacles in the way of our readers judging without bias. We speak thus confidently both from experience and from observation. We have felt their influence upon our own mind, and seen it upon others. First, the

evils and atrocities of the papal system are too great to be easily believed ; and second, the character, designs, plans and actions of the Italians have been so superior to anything we expected, that we can scarcely credit the truth of what has recently passed in our day.

Indeed, there are certain subjects, which, in order to be duly presented to American readers, require to be treated by American writers. This is peculiarly true of the subject now before us. The events which occurred in Rome in 1848 and 1849, especially those of the latter year, when considered aright, possess very high interest for intelligent men of different nations ; but they are of superior interest to us, because they are of practical application to our circumstances and prospects, and relate to several objects of paramount, and indeed vital importance. On the one hand they have confirmed some of our most prevalent opinions ; and on the other they have contradicted certain ideas which we have generally entertained as correct. The Pope was solemnly divested of his temporal power, in the year 1849, by his own people, and they established a Republic. These two unexpected steps were exactly fitted to gratify American Protestants, and excite their warmest approbation and sympathy. But we find but few and feeble expressions of such feelings among our countrymen. The reason is, that there is not much confidence in the men by whom these measures were taken. No one can doubt, that if our countrymen believed that the Romans were intelligent, sincere and determined in the stand they took, they would have us all warmly in their favor. There are several reasons why Americans do not put confidence in them, but they are ill-founded, and produced by ignorance alone. The author has had many

opportunities not within the reach of his countrymen generally, to know the facts ; and he finds so much reason to approve and admire the course and objects of the Romans, that he has anxiously waited for the appearance of some book adapted to the general instruction of our countrymen on this important portion of passing history. But he has waited in vain. No work, well adapted to this end has appeared or is likely to be soon written. It would be almost impossible for an European to present the present aright for American readers ; and none of our countrymen is known to have any design of making the attempt. The following pages therefore have been written, with a desire to supply some of the most important facts ; with a belief that the Roman enterprize, (as the final overthrow of popery may justly be called,) is the most important object now before the world, that it is in faithful and worthy hands, which will be successful if duly aided from this side of the Atlantic, that only Americans can be expected to afford them the speedy and powerful assistance needed, and therefore that this is a great, a prime object for us all.

Certain prejudices prevent us from trusting Italians, as we have said. They have been regarded, for so many ages, as the bigotted and fanatical supporters of popery, and so cowardly, fickle, treacherous and blood-thirsty in their dispositions, that we cannot easily feel towards them as we do towards each other. But in all this we are mistaken. Many of them have been the most decided enemies of popery for ages ; and that system was restored by the Allied Sovereigns by force in 1815, against their strongest remonstrances. If there were no other evidences of their bravery and love of order, their conduct in

the late very trying scenes would alone establish their character.

In the first place, the nature and degree of the sufferings of the Romans under the papal despotism ought to be understood. We are invited to contemplate them on our own account as well as theirs : for we have their apologists among us, and even those who assiduously labor to establish the same system in our own country. A few pages will therefore be now devoted to the subject, and circumstances requiring such a view, to render more intelligible the events which are to be accounted for in this volume.

The title "Papa," (the Italian word for Pope,) has been declared, by some, to have been derived from the two first letters of the Latin words PATER PATRUM, (Father of fathers ;) and by others from the initials of Petrus Apostolus Potestatem Accipiens : (Peter the Apostle receiving power.) But there is no reason to doubt that it is from *Papa*, (or father,) a title borne by all the bishops during the first seven or eight centuries.

"The union of the temporal and spiritual power," says Lalande, (writing nearly a century ago,) "renders the Pope the most absolute of all sovereigns ; and his despotism, being (professedly) that of God, meets neither contradiction nor obstacle. He has neither parliament nor national assembly, nor any council which he is obliged to consult for his decisions.

The Tiara (Triregno in Italian,) which is regarded as the ornament and emblem of pontifical power, a little resembles the ancient head-dress of the Chaldeans and Persians. It is round, elevated in the form of a tower ; and for the sovereigns it was environed with a crown. Pope Boniface VIII. added a second

crown to the tiara, to mark the union of the temporal power with the spiritual ; and Benedict XII., in 1334, or Urban V., in 1352, added a third, because of the holiness of the mysterious number three, or to indicate the union of the three kinds of power : imperial, pontifical and paternal.

This tiara, however, is worn by the Pope only on the day of his coronation. He wears the episcopal mitre at ceremonies, and on ordinary occasions a red cap bordered with gold. The tiara serves as a crown to his arms, and the high altar of St. Peter's is ornamented with it at grand ceremonies. So the cardinals never wear their red caps except in the great cavalcade of the *Possesso* and at their induction ceremony."

The pomp with which the Pope is surrounded, and the ceremonies of the Roman Church, are the most imposing that they and their priests have been able to invent, although to one who has just views of the Christian religion—its simplicity, humility, connection with the heart, mind and life, they are puerile, profane, contemptible and disgusting. To an American especially, accustomed to religious scenes of so opposite a character, and with the recollection of the luxurious and vicious lives of the priests, with their system of impiety, oppression, cruelty, and murder which they sustain in part by such displays, the sight is painful to an extreme.

POPISH EDUCATION,

In what relates to the spiritual or superior part of human nature, says a distinguished Italian writer last year, "the cultivation of the intellect and the heart, from considering the approved

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methods of education and public instruction, it would seem that the 'Sacred Congregation of Studies in Rome,' an institution which has always exercised the monopoly of that most essential part of the life of a state, has never proposed to itself any other end, than that of creating in minds a moral void: to substitute for the living affections and social duties in the relations of time and place, of activity and progress, in which Providence has placed him, a dry and sterile form, produced by dead erudition and foolish superstitions, contradicted by every sentiment of citizen dignity, every public virtue, every generous inspiration, obedient, mute and venal. Beginning with primary education, the methods approved by the ecclesiastical authority, present and predominant every thing, are reduced to a dry mechanism of ciphers, signs, Latin prayers, lectures unintelligible, fatiguing and weakening the mind, without leaving any living thing in the heart. The rod of the master, the superstitions of ignorant priests, the separation of nascent thought from nature and from society, from the first pure sentiments of love, beauty and duty towards the family and the country, humanity and God, must early form subjects for the sacerdotal government.

All that may be called exalting in moral life in education, in the education of the earliest stage was banished; and the names and the works of Parravicini, Aporti and other meritorious writers, who founded methodical instruction in Italy, were rigorously proscribed in the children's schools. In the instruction of the Lyceums and seminaries, the same tendencies prevailed. The youth entering the higher schools, after a course of Latin which lasted six years, and from which most of them came out barren in genius and disgusted with study, although they were

acquainted with the grammar of a dead language, were often ignorant of the names of the greatest Italian writers, had not a single correct idea of living nature around them, were unacquainted with the history of their own country and the duties of men and citizens; and, when they came to the study of philosophy, they were condemned to a mean, scholastic logic, approved by the superiors, which enabled them to make syllogisms in form, without a spark of true history or the progress of the human intellect.

In the universities, finally, every kind of discipline was excluded, which might acquaint the youth with the grand difference between ideas and things, between the abject condition of the Pope's subject and the high object of life, as a man, a citizen and an Italian. The philosophy of history and Italian literature; political economy; the metaphysics of law and politics were forbidden by the priests' list of studies, to young men born in the native country of Vico, Filangieri and Beccaria.

Worst of all, and equally incomplete, was instruction in the physical mathematical sciences, while the highest studies, the greatest developments of human reason, were opposed and combatted in every branch of knowledge. It was enough, that what would serve for vulgar practice and the venality of official professions came from the university schools. More than that was feared, as opposed to the sad reality of the moral, political and physical condition of the state, to the ignorance and the arbitrary will of the rulers.

As for literature and poetry, those lofty teachers of the people, the Censorship allowed only the prostitution of them by their pedants and flatterers.



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If the education and instruction of the other classes were so miserably mutilated, the laboring class was not more favored, and the poor people were left in total abandonment, and destitute of every moral sentiment. The reiterated petitions for infant schools, technical schools, gymnastic and military exercises, institutions directed to the improvement of the arts, to manufacturing and agricultural associations, and to the melioration of the physical and moral condition of the lower classes, were always rejected. Savings banks were with great difficulty tolerated, after long controversies with the bishops, the clergy and the government. And manufactures, the operation of any trade and every improvement in the state of society, excited no less fear than science, although they are at the foundation of national dignity and civil power.

The financial and custom-house systems give a no less wretched picture of the productive departments. In material economy, the pontifical government is what it appears to be in moral economy : the incarnation of all the most absurd prohibitions and monopolies.

All these are related to each other, being consequences of the same principle of exclusion, and the denial of intellectual, national and political existence. The Court of Rome cannot permit a good and equal political economy, because it cannot permit a good and equal system of civil legislation, nor a good and equal administration of the revenue of the state."

CHAPTER V.

**Popish Despotism.—Its Institutions continued.—The Società Sanfedista.
—Their Catechism and Intrigues.**

The papal party have not been content with the numerous arrangements made for the exercise and security of the power of the papacy, by the government, the Jesuits, the Inquisition, the various orders of monks, nuns, the confessional, the spies, the hired foreign soldiers, &c., but so resolute, watchful and powerful were the people, whom they intend to keep for ever under their yoke, that they have long had a secret society of their own, on the plan resembling that of Freemasonry, called the Sanfedista, or Society of the Holy Faith: or, in full, “Brethren of the Catholic Apostolic Society of the Sanfedisti.” The following is the oath taken by the members, which is translated from the Italian:—

“I, N— N—, in the presence of Almighty God, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, of the ever immaculate Virgin Mary and of all the celestial court, &c., of you, honored father, swear that I will sooner cut off my right hand and die of hunger or under the greatest torments—and I pray the Lord God Almighty to condemn me to the endless pains of hell—than to betray or deceive one of the honored fathers and brethren of the Catholic Apostolical Society to which I subscribed at this time, or if I do

not scrupulously fulfil its laws, or give assistance to my brethren in want. I swear to hold myself in defending the cause which I have embraced, never to spare a single individual belonging to the infamous combination of the Liberals, whatever may be his birth, parentage or fortune, and to have no pity for the cries of children nor of old men or women, and to shed the blood of the infamous Liberals even to the last drop, without regard to sex, age or rank. Finally, I swear implacable hatred to all the enemies of our holy Roman Catholic religion, one and true."

The Catechism of the Sanfedist Society, obtained secretly attested as genuine, by Signor Arduini, in "Italia del Popolo, of March, 1850, page 96.

Domanda. Have we a fine day ?

Risposta. To-morrow, I hope, will be better.

D. That will be well ! for the road is bad.

R. It will soon be improved.

D. In what manner ?

R. By the bones of the Liberals.

D. What is your name ?

R. Light.

D. Where does Light comes from ?

R. From heaven.

D. What do you intend to do to-day ?

R. To separate the grain from the wheat.

D. What is your original name ?

R. XXX.

D. What is your profession of faith ?

R. The destruction of the enemies of the altar and the throne.

D. How long is your staff?

R. It is long enough to strike them.

D. What plant produced it?

R. One sown in Palestine, grown in the Vatican, under whose leaves all the faithful are safe.

D. Do you intend to travel?

R. Yes.

D. Where?

R. To the contests of faithfulness and religion, on board the vessel of the "Fisherman."

CATECHISM OF THE SAME SOCIETY FOR THOSE INITIATED
INTO A HIGHER GRADE.

D. Hail! Welcome. Tell me, for the second time, who you are?

R. One of your brethren.

D. Are you a man?

R. Yes indeed; and I consent that my hand and my throat be cut, to die of hunger and in the most terrible torments, if I deceive or betray a brother.

D. How do you know a brother faithful to his God and his prince?

R. By these three words: "Faith, Hope and Indissoluble Union."

D. Who admitted you among the Sanfedists?

R. A venerable man with white hair.

D. What did he do to admit you?

R. He made me place one knee upon the cross, and my right hand upon the holy Eucharist, and armed me with a blessed sword.

D. In what place did he receive you ?

R. On the banks of Jordan, in a place not contaminated by the enemies of the holy religion and of princes, at the hour when the divine Redeemer was born.

D. What are your colors ?

R. With white and red I cover my head ; and I cover my heart with white and yellow.

D. Do you know how many we are ?

R. We are certainly numerous enough to annihilate the enemies of the holy religion and monarchy.

D. What is your duty ?

R. To hope in the name of God and of the only true Roman Catholic Church.

D. Where does the wind come from ?

R. From Palestine and the Vatican ; and it will disperse all the enemies of God.

D. What are the knots which bind you ?

R. The love of God, of the country and of truth.

D. How do you sleep ?

R. Always in peace with God, and in the hope of waking at war with the enemies of his holy name.

D. How do you call your steps ?

R. The first Alpha, the second Noah's Ark, the third the Imperial Eagle, and the fourth the Keys of Heaven.

D. Courage then, brother, and perseverance.

It is a significant fact, showing that the best of the people are enemies of popery, that this Society was chiefly composed of vagabonds, although directed by men of education, and officers of high power, and selected for the task from the Jesuits,

Inquisitors, &c. Under Pope Gregory XVI however, this society was active, and performed innumerable acts of oppression in Romagna, under the law of suspicion, which authorized frequent examination of dwellings, arbitrary imprisonments, exiles and executions. When he visited Ancona in 1841, and was besought by wives and friends of sufferers, he replied: "Don't speak to me of that set of men; I will have nothing to do with assassins."

Without devoting as many pages here to the atrocities of the Sanfedists, as would be necessary to give an adequate idea of their terrible execution of the will of that tyrant, we may remark, that, at his death, great exertions were made in the conclave which met to elect a successor, to choose a pope who would uphold that society in power. The people throughout Romagna, and all the cities with scarcely an exception, had sent in petitions, in firm but mild language, for certain meliorations in the government which had been promised in 1831: a general amnesty for prisoners and exiles, the admission of men not priests to public offices, reform of the laws and courts, and the creation of a civic guard. Pius IX. was elected Pope by accident; and he, at first, under the influence of moderate and humane men, adopted a course quite the contrary of his predecessor. In one month he granted the long desired amnesty, and restored to their homes thousands of the best men of Italy, who had been separated from them by the relentless Gregory. The Sanfedists, from that time, and all the reactionary party, received the name of Gregorians; and they soon began to seek the destruction of the new Pope.

The following address, which was put into circulation, through the priests and other members of the Society, among the country people, by Cardinal Della Genga at Pesaro, and Cardinal

De Angelis at Fermo, will give some idea of the men and measures employed by the enemies of liberty in Italy.

SEPTEMBER 30TH, 1846.

"Dearest Brethren!

"Our holy religion is almost dead. The intrusive pontiff Mastai * is its oppressor. He is devoted to Giovane Italia †. His attitude is very significant. Vigilance, therefore, prudence and courage dearest brethren, if you have at heart, as I believe, the maintenance of the religion of Jesus Christ, God made man! That will triumph! He will assist, and already assists you: Besides the aid of God we have that of man. Ferdinand I. is on our right, Ferdinand II. on our left. But do not the less remind the faithful that the devourers in vain resist the will of the Most High. When raised against religion, it will be our most powerful arm. The terrible day will be announced to you, heaven! heaven protects our enterprise."

This inflammatory paper was issued, but it found many, even among the worst country people, and once most devoted servants of the priests, quite changed in their opinions. They had been told that the Liberals were men destitute of every good principle; but they had now seen a Pope perform a general act of mercy, witnessed the affecting scenes of fathers and brothers returning to their families, the splendid rejoicings of towns and cities, and the bountiful gifts made as tokens of gratitude to the poor; and they had seen that Pope for doing all this, ranked with the Liberals and denounced for ruin. Thus it was that Pius IX. so soon after his election, himself began to co-operate for his own overthrow; and the Liberals were ready to promote the favorable

* The name of Pius IX. † Mazzini's Pratriotic Society.

tendency of things, by fraternal banquets and other means of winning the people. The scenes which then occurred in all parts of the papal states have never been adequately described. In the open fields, in the verdant shades and under the tranquil firmament, thousands of citizens and contadini assembled, to rejoice at the present and in hope of the future; and, as the patriot, even though just from exile or a dungeon, was no longer in danger from a spy or an inquisitor, and every man of that class was aware of the importance of the moment, to enlist the feelings of his countrymen with his own, the cry of "Long live Pius IX!" was always followed by "Long live our Country!"

In such a state of things the Sanfedist society melted away, until scarcely any thing was left except its chiefs and officers; and they were both ashamed and afraid to take any measures but under the shades of secrecy. As many of the high ecclesiastics who had held commanding offices throughout the country still retained them, much power was in the hands of the enemy, but they overrated it in a serious case. In order to stop the effects of the fraternal banquets, they persuaded Gozzi, the Secretary of State, to request the Pope to prevent them, on the ground that they were expensive both in time and in money. But this compliance cost him his place—the highest office under the Pope.

The Sanfedists, however, continued their exertions, with strong promises to their friends of powerful assistance coming from foreign countries. Signor Arduini says: "I myself have found, in the registers of the Holy Office (The Roman Inquisition) very circumstantial reports concerning the increasing demonstrations made at that time in the provinces, and the importance of soon counteracting them."

CHAPTER VI.

Popish Despotism.—Its Institutions, concluded.—The Inquisition.

Most Americans had believed that the Inquisition had passed away, and no longer existed, at least in any thing like its former state. The term "*Inquisition*," and especially "*the Spanish Inquisition*" always fill the mind with horror, because we all have heard of the barbarities practised by inquisitors in past ages. We can hardly believe that men capable of torturing their fellow beings with racks, fire and various ingenious instruments, could possess a nature like our own; and the only consolation we could find, when reading of their cruelties, was from the reflection, that they had long ceased to practice their shocking trade. Some of us who had read and heard more, had suspicions that something of the same kind still existed; and here and there an American might be found, who believed that there were secret dungeons and other prisons, nearer home than Italy or Spain, where unfortunate human beings were still confined and tormented, if not even killed, for offending Popish priests, by disobeying their assumed spiritual authority.

But the unwillingness of kind-hearted people to believe ill of others, on the one hand, and the repeated and solemn denials of the Pope's advocates on the other, prevented this belief from

becoming general; and those who professed it were often treated with displeasure, ridicule or contempt.

Many books have been filled with descriptions of Rome, and travellers may procure guide-books, in various languages, to direct them in their researches among the numerous objects of interest. But there is one spot which they all, with one common consent, pass by in silence. Strange as it may seem, there is an edifice, at a short distance from St. Peter's, to which none of those books make any allusion, although its name and its influence are known through the world, and without the co-operation of the institutions of which it is the centre, the worship of St. Peter's would not have been sustained, and Popes would have ceased in Italy three hundred years ago. Three hundred years ago the edifice was erected, and for three centuries its doors have been closed to the world, although the people of the city have regarded it all that time with dread, mingled with curiosity, and although it contains many of the best writings of the best men of Italy. It is a striking fact, that while the reliques and pictures of some of the greatest wretches who ever disgraced human history are honored with churches and chapels in the neighboring streets, and are worshipped like the demigods of antiquity, the bones or ashes of many of the wisest and best men who ever lived, are buried in darkness in this institution, and its dependencies in other places and countries. That edifice is called The Holy Office, (*Il Sant' Ufficio*), and the institution is the Inquisition of Rome, the chief of all other Inquisitions.

"*Andreas Schotti Itinerarium Italiae*," published in Latin perhaps two hundred years ago, devotes its second part to the city

of Rome, and the admirable things therein, both human and divine: "Roma, ejusque admiranda, cum divina tum humana." It would be unreasonable to ask for even the name of the Inquisition in a book with such a title; unless the word "infernal" had been added.

That volume gives a list of the "fifty-five offices" attached and near to the Vatican: but the Sant' Ufficio, or Holy Office is not named among them, although it is near it, and was connected with it by a long gallery of marble.

We translate the following account of the tribunal of the Inquisition, from "Lalande's Travels in Italy," published in Geneva in 1790. The author in informing us that "the Holy Office" is a "Congregation" tells us what the word "Congregation" implies in Rome. Congregations are "councils or assemblies, composed of one or more cardinals and several prelates." He then defines Prelates as "the ecclesiastical officers of the Court of Rome, who occupy offices whether civil or ecclesiastical, after the Cardinals." Their place is the first step towards that of a cardinal. A prelate must have a revenue of fifteen hundred scudi. Many are never advanced at all; as ability, favor or accident only can secure promotion before the numerous competitors. Some obtain the office of governor of a small town, and die so. "They come to Rome from all parts, to be made prelates, even foreigners not being excluded, if they fix their residence there. Cardinal Giraud, who was Nuncio in France in 1767, was the son of a Frenchman. The secret chamberlains and chamberlains of honor, who are almost the same as in France, are prelates who serve the Pope, and wait till he has offices to give them; and they are in great numbers.

In this the prelates of quality make their beginning, who do not like to take the trouble of following a long and painful career, to arrive at high offices."

The following are the Congregations in Rome: the Consistory, (Public and Secret,) the Consistorial Congregation, (formed of Cardinals only,) that of Ecclesiastical Immunity, (which judges, among other cases, those of criminals taking refuge in churches, &c., a practice allowed in imitation of the ancient Romans, and the cause, says Lalande, "of the frequent robberies and assassinations." The Consulta, the Congregation of Good Government, *the Holy Office*, the Index, of the Judges, of the Bishops, of the Propaganda, of Ceremonials, of Ecclesiastical Discipline, of Election, of the Examination of Bishops, of the State of the Churches, of the Boundaries, of the Waters, of the Barons, Actions, Taxes, of Receivers' Accounts, of the sale of Notes, of the Monti, of St. Peter's, for the Revision of Masses, and the Visitation of Prisoners. The Pope occasionally establishes Special Congregations, as the King of France forms Committees for counsel, when there are questions occupying too much time.

Lalande merely names most of these Congregations, thinking they would appear of but little interest to foreigners, for whom his book was written. We may presume that they were, and have long been, things of sad interest to the Romans, who have had to suffer from the intolerable oppression of such swarms of priests, governing them and having every thing their own way. But some of these Congregations have not confined their attention or their operations to Rome or even to Italy or Europe. Such is particularly the case with respect to the Holy Office,

to whose plan we will not for a moment attend, as it has existed for several centuries, before we enter the horrible edifice where it has so long rioted in torture and murder, and whose exposure we owe to the Roman republicans in 1849.

The Inquisition, or Holy Office, is one of the principal Congregations of Rome. It is composed of twelve Cardinals and a Cardinal Secretary; and it has also a Commissary or Inquisitor, (who is always a Dominican monk,) a Prelate Assessor, Consultors, (who are either lawyers or secular or regular theologians, and among whom is always the General of the Dominicans,) the Master of the Sacred Palace, (a monk of the same order,) and a Coventual Cordelier. There are besides a Qualificator, (who is a theologian charged with the examination of certain books, to report on them to the Inquisition, but who is not a member of the tribunal,) a Fiscal Promoter, (who performs the part of accuser,) and a lawyer, for the defence of the accused.

The Inquisition has cognizance of all ecclesiastical crimes and offences: heresy, blasphemy, false doctrine, bad books, profanations, abuse of the sacraments, accusations of sorcery, and in general every thing that interests religion and the faith.

Pope Innocent III, gave birth to the Inquisition, when, in 1204, he sent a number of monks into Spain, to proceed against the Albigenses, "heretics" who then began to appear. Gregory IX, in 1231, entrusted the Dominicans alone with that commission in the different provinces. Those monks, whose order had just been formed, and who had all the reputation of a new establishment, executed too well the intentions of those who had sent them; and they remained in possession of that trust in several countries. In some of the cities of the states of Ve

nice, however, it is in the hands of the Conventual Cordeliers, and in Spain in those of the regular clergy. (Lalande here refers to Pavano, on the Origin of the Inquisition, published in Rome in 1730; Daniell's Praxis Rom. Cur. Section 76; De Tortura; and Van Eaper, Jus. Can. Univ. Part., 1, tit. 22.)

Pope Sixtus IV. established an Inquisition in Spain, in 1483; Clement VII. in Portugal in 1531. Paul III. made the chief seat of the Inquisition in Rome, by forming a tribunal composed of Cardinals, to which he gave the power of creating inquisitions throughout Christendom.

The Inquisition meets three times a week: on Monday in the Holy Office, which is behind the Church of St. Peter, and where are also the prisons of this tribunal. There are at the time there only the Consultors, the Assessor and the Commissary. There they prepare the business, and report on it in the presence of the Cardinals, who meet on Wednesdays at the Minerva; after that, on Thursday, this Congregation assembles in the Pope's palace, and in the presence of the Pope, who is its chief, and confirms the decisions made at the two former meetings.

The Congregation of the Index was established by "Pope St. Pius V." to aid the Congregation of the Holy Office in what relates to prohibited books. A cardinal is the prefect of this Congregation, which consists of several other cardinals, several consultors, (among whom is always a theologian called the Master of the Sacred Palace, and Director of the Library,) and of a secretary, who is a Dominican. This last convokes the assembly when it is necessary, and makes report to the Pope of the resolutions passed, to enter the book under examination in the Index. He has even the right to allow the reading of prohibited books

during three years. He gives permissions, and signs and seals them with the seal of the Cardinal Prefect. (See Catalane's "Treatise on the Secret Congregation of the Index.")

The Index is a catalogue of fifteen thousand or twenty thousand works, the reading of which is forbidden, on account of the dangerous doctrines which may be found in them, either directly or indirectly. This catalogue forms a volume in octavo, very thick and closely printed. The first edition was published in 1559, under Paul IV., in consequence of the decree of the Council of Trent: but it was made over again under Clement VIII., at the beginning of the seventeenth century; and a considerably enlarged edition towards the end of the eighteenth.

One might be surprized to find in that catalogue the works of such authors as Boërhavé and Copernicus, who seem to be far removed from any suspicion of heresy: but there are things in the hypotheses of physicians and astronomers from which dangerous consequences have been anticipated, although very distant; and that is sufficient to place a book in the Index. They consented, however, in the last named edition, to suppress the article comprehending *all books in which the motion of the earth is taught*. This truth now so well demonstrated, was then denied, and its illustrious teachers were subjected to threats and torture for maintaining it. These facts are regarded as among the most obnoxious to the defenders of popery.

We may now dismiss the subject of the Inquisition, until the Republicans allow us to see the interior of that building, so long the object of horror and mournful curiosity to the world, but at length opened by them, and the interior exposed, with evidence of more shocking deeds than even the world had apprehended.

CHAPTER VII.

Is ability to read in all circumstances necessary to Republicans?—What the Romans know, and how they have been taught.—Cicerouacchio, the modern Roman Tribune.—His virtues, influence and deeds.

Nothing is more evident, from experience of our own, than that ability to read, and even the habit of reading, (which is often separated from it,) are by no means sufficient to make a good citizen, or a good public man. On the contrary we know, or can readily admit, that there may be many of our fellow-citizens, who perform their public duties well, without being in the habit of reading, or even of conversing or reflecting much on political matters. There are many who are guided in their votes, as well as in their political opinions and sympathies, by the example or advice of friends, in whom they confide. They judge in public, as in private matters, according to what they think the safest and surest principles; and, so far as they are honest and are not deceived in the characters or capacity of their friends, they go right. When doubt arises in their minds, on a question which they deem of peculiar importance, such men will usually seek for more information, which they may obtain either from newspapers, pamphlets, or conversation, or public speeches, according to their convenience and pleasure.


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It is true that where the ability to read is rare, or the means of obtaining papers few, or the opposition of the government great, the people must be ignorant, especially if such obstacles have long existed, unmitigated by powerful counteracting influences. In South America, however, as in Greece, in our day, great obstacles of these kinds have been so far counteracted, that the people have been able to rise in great power, and establish their independence. In ancient times, also, when newspapers did not exist, and no other means for the convenient diffusion of knowledge by addressing the eye, revolutions were often made by nations under oppression ; and various popular governments rose and long subsisted, without the aid of reading. There is no such difference in the state of the world, or of men at the present day, as would require universal reading as indispensable to a desirable revolution. These remarks may be opportune here, not because of any originality or novelty in the idea, but to prevent a simple and apparently undeniable truth from being lost sight of. It has been often said, that a nation cannot be intelligent enough for self-government without general primary education : but it seems to have been often said without due reflection.

However, the Romans, like many of the other Italians, are to a considerable extent, able to read. There are schools every where ; of a low grade generally, it is true, and by no means planned for the proper training of the mind or the heart. But the proportion of persons who have learned to read is considerable, though, it is said, the number of readers is very small, for the want of newspapers, and of books appropriate to interest them. The common people, and indeed all the laity, as far as possible, are prevented by the priests from reading almost any

thing except their books of devotion, and the preposterous stories of pretended miracles abounding in the "Lives of Saints." The former works are partly in Latin, which the people do not understand, and the latter are filled with puerile falsehoods which disgust common sense. Hence it is said, that many of those who have once been taught to read, lose the power of reading by voluntary disuse. It is easy, however, to see, that, in such times as have lately occurred in that country, there must have been a great increase in the number of readers, and in the quantity of reading.

But we may well attend, for a moment, to the other means of circulating information and educating the people which have been employed. Intelligent exiles have learned much, in the foreign countries to which they have been driven; and the results have been diffused at home through private channels, but most extensively through the *Secret Societies*, which have long existed, with ramifications throughout Italy. This is a subject which is not very generally understood in America; and therefore we may dwell upon it for a few moments.

It is a common, and a very natural thing for one of our countrymen, to imagine that the governments of the arbitrary sovereigns of Europe have the power to do almost every thing they wish to do, by employing the entire energies of the spies, the army and the police; and that, when the Pope adds to these the confession and the Inquisition, with all the chief offices in State as well as in Church vested in priests, he at least can prevent by fear, every act of open opposition and even every secret plot, he might not be able to suppress by force. But this is very far from being true; and we all can understand how it

is often quite the opposite, if we first reflect on the powerful reasons which an oppressed people have to co-operate for their mutual security, and the exceeding acuteness which they may acquire, by practice in counteracting a system of imposture and cruelty, daily in operation around them expressly for their injury and destruction. Italian spies, Jesuits and Inquisitors are doubtless very crafty and ingenious: but those who have suffered from their acts and cruelty for centuries, must be supposed to possess a keen intelligence and readiness of expedient, superior to what men would ever find necessary in a state of society like our own. It would be easy to give reasons and explanations, to elucidate this fact.

An Italian patriot, who had suffered severely from different kinds of oppression, and had recently returned to one of the cities of Italy from exile, conceived the idea of amusing himself, by baffling the vigilance of the police for a few days, and completely succeeded, so that, on presenting himself at the next weekly levée of that officer, as if nothing had happened, he exclaimed: "Where have you come from?" Few experiments however are made, like this, in mere sport.

The name of Cicerouacchio must be familiar to many of our readers. He was the leader of the people of Rome, in their sudden and general rising in June, 1846, for the protection of the Pope, when threatened by a diabolical conspiracy. His history and character well deserve to be known and admired, especially as he was connected with one of the most important, wonderful and honorable scenes in the history of that city. The details of that period, brief as it was, are of the greatest value, as they afford practical illustrations and confirmations of the superior

qualities of the modern Romans. The reader will see, with sincere pleasure no doubt, if he loves to recognize excellence in any family of his fellow-men, that the population of the city were ready, at that time, to rise up with one heart, hand and voice, in opposition to subtle enemies, and for the protection of a supposed friend, spontaneously, disinterestedly and in the most orderly and successful manner, taking the entire charge of the capital, and performing the various duties of sentinels, guards, patrols, watchmen and defenders. If any thing could have been wanted to vindicate the Romans from all these malicious and gratuitous slanders which have been heaped upon them, even since the gallant and noble conduct which they displayed after the Pope turned his back upon his promises and his friends, the history of the scene to which we referred would have been sufficient, to consign their names with honor to posterity and that of Pius IX. to abhorrence and contempt.

Cicerouacchio was a man in middle life, and distinguished by higher qualifications than money, power or priestly rank can confer, viz. honest industry, generous sympathy for his fellow-men, and an ardent love of his country. He had long been known as a dealer in grain, and enjoyed the entire confidence and respect of all who knew him. The expressions of gratitude to the Pope were so sincere, that the first suspicions that he had enemies secretly at work, roused the leaders of the people to vigilance. Alarming symptoms were discovered, and a general system was established, to watch suspicious persons; to report and compare facts and circumstances, and to be ready to defeat or counteract every plan formed against the Pope and the people. These arrangements were made and conducted in

secret; and important discoveries were soon made. Strangers were observed coming into the city, in the dress of the people, and were found to be in communication with certain cardinals and other men in power. At an appointed time some of them were seized, and found to be in possession of gold, and instruments of death, whose objects were easily conjectured. The people rose in a mass, with Cicerouacchio at their head, declared to the Pope their determination to protect him, and requesting him to raise a civic guard, (which had been ordered on the fifth,) and to adopt other measures for public security.

The most perfidious plot was the next day developed: and it was proved by deeds, most shameful to Austria, that she and the Jesuits were combined in a perfidious scheme, for the sudden and violent overthrow of the government. On the 15th of July, the day when the defeated plot was to have been accomplished, Austrian troops entered the Roman States, and occupied Farrara, proclaiming that a revolution had taken place in Rome! A more disgraceful exposure was perhaps never made; and the world was indignant at the Austrians and the Jesuits. The Romans had great reason for joy and hope: for they had now the amnesty, the consulta and authority to be their own soldiers and police, so that they could do what they pleased; and the people then began to display the noblest character.

On the 8th of September, 1846, in spite of all the opposition of the Jesuits and their friends, a splendid celebration was held in Rome, to express the universal joy at the amnesty, which had been as ineffectually opposed. That day, (which is called the birth-day of the Virgin Mary, with as much probability as the 4th of July,) the Popes are accustomed to go in procession to

the church of Santa Maria del Popolo. Pius had never before appeared in the Corso ; and on that day he received expressions of welcome and gratitude from the thronging population, which, says Ranolli, "the pen does not know how to describe," all the way from the Square of the Quirinal to that of the People being a perfect triumph. There, between the two churches, was a magnificent triumphal arch, erected at the expense of Cicero-uacchio and his two associates, which struck the Pope with such admiration, that he stood for some time to contemplate it. On his return to the Quirinal he was surrounded by banners and hailed with shouts and music, which rang through the city till late at night, while the city shone with a general illumination. The people of Rome thus showed, in the most striking manner, that universal love of order, peace and quietness, which, to the surprize of the world, they afterwards sustained, through the severe trials of the succeeding months, accompanied, in time of need, with a bravery and fortitude which have raised their character to the highest degree. It has been remarked, that, from that day, the real powers of the people was realized by themselves, and the Pope.

But the people soon had their hopes disappointed. Pius was insincere ; and he now found popery inconsistent with improvement, or, more probably, his new councillors were more consistent papists than his first three : Micari, Graziosi and Silvani ; the corrupt system of courts and judges was persisted in, and forty distinguished and most meritorious patriots in exile were excluded from the amnesty, among whom was Signor Foresti. A description of the manner of conducting trials, and an account of the corruption of the judges, who, like all the other

officers, were priests, would astonish and disgust the reader, we had room to record them.

The banquet given in Rome on the day of the Processo, may be described as a specimen of those fraternal convivial meetings which at once displayed and fostered the kind, patriotic and joyful feelings of the people. It was held in the great hall of the old Alibert Theatre, and was attended by 500 Romans and 300 other Italians, many of whom had come from distant cities to attend. There was much less display of luxurious food than of genuine and harmonious intercourse. The embellishments were appropriate and elegant, the concourse thronging but orderly and enthusiastic, and numerous pieces of prose and poetry, written for the occasion, were read or recited. The general aspect of the whole scene was gay and impressive; and shouts were heartily raised from time to time for the Pope and Italy.

Three things were especially to be noted on that occasion :—1st. That although the press was not yet allowed to speak the name of Italy as one, the feeling of unity was plainly expressed in the plan, the arrangements and even the voices of the assembly, indicating that the people had already obtained their victory;—2d, that Rome seemed then to be first, in modern times acknowledged as the head of the nation, an object long desired by leading patriots, but before opposed by the public feeling which had for ages regarded her as the source of the public misery;—3d, that the high and the low there mingled freely and cordially at the same table, and first broke through the separating walls which had prevailed in Rome more than elsewhere, keep the different classes asunder.

Conspicuous for his natural dignity, simple dress and manner

and still more for the high esteem in which he was deservedly held by the populace, sat he who was distinguished by the title of the Tribune, the leader of the people, Angelio Brunetti, commonly called Cicerouacchio. The following anecdote of this estimable man is characteristic of him.

About the time spoken of, occurred one of those overflows of the Tiber, which sometimes cause much injury to the lower parts of Rome. Heavy rains had swollen the river so much in December, that on the 10th and 11th, it rose higher than ever before since 1805. That admired Square, the Piazza del Popolo, which the traveller enters on arriving from the north, was covered with water, and the Via di Ripetta seemed a river. Brunetti, the Tribune, was one of those most exposed, as his house was near the head of that street: but, regardless of himself, on discovering the extent of the inundation within and without the city from the roof of his house, he called his son to follow, and threw himself into a boat. They rowed across the Piazza, out of the gate, to Ponte Molle, (the Milvian Bridge) where he drove out oxen from his stalls and collected bread in large quantities, and then distributed them for food to many poor families, which had been driven from their houses by the flood. He then returned to the city, and repeated the same humane labors among the numerous sufferers, mingling all with words of kindness and encouragement. Thus he employed himself, until the waters subsided, which in the mean time, had injured his own property to the amount of a thousand dollars—a large sum in Rome.

About this time appeared the “*Contemporaneo*,” the first political journal worthy of the name ever published in that city.



## CHAPTER VIII.

THE assassination of Rossi.—Falsely charged on the Republicans.—Charge wholly refuted by facts and circumstances.—Most probable suppositions.—The death of Rossi.

During the latter part of the reign of Pius IX., and when he had lost all the confidence of the people, his fall or overthrow being apparently certain and speedy, great excitement prevailed, and in the midst of it the Pope's Prime Minister, Rossi, was killed. His death has been repeatedly charged against the Republicans; and, on both sides of the ocean, the Republic has been said to have commenced by an assassination. The confidence with which this charge has been made and repeated, has naturally led some men to believe it true; and therefore the subject claims particular attention. The case will be found to be a very peculiar one.

Rossi had a high reputation for learning, but his character is thus briefly sketched by Del Vecchio: Rossi was held in high esteem for his talents, but not for his heart nor his conduct towards Italy; because, after renouncing religion and political principle, he became a renegade to his country, from ambition and pride. All parties decried him. The Republicans knew him to be a friend of Guizot, the aristocrats abhorred his constitutional doctrines, and the priests remembered his philosophical works, in which he powerfully proved that popery is incompati-

ble with the happiness of the people. But the party of Charles Albert, with Gioberti at their head, were his greatest enemies. Rossi desired the federation of the princes of Italy; and Piedmont opposed him, because she wished to have the House of Savoy at the head. An article was published at the time in the *Gazetta of Roma*, most powerfully opposing the Albertists, and with great effect. A few days after, viz. early in November, the Roman Chambers opened; and, in consequence of a dumb appearance of dissatisfaction in the city, numerous guards and police were drawn up round the place of meeting. Rossi alighted in the hollow square, and was stabbed and killed on the steps.

This remarkable assassination might have been charged to any other party with greater plausibility than to the Republicans: for they had no prospects and no hope of doing any thing at that time, and there are no proofs that they were attempting or planning any thing. They indeed appear not to have existed as a party.

The deed was performed in open day-light, in the presence of the Pope's own Swiss soldiers and city guards, forming a hollow square, just after Rossi had alighted from his coach and had begun to ascend the steps leading to the chambers. An unknown man followed him, struck him with a poignard in the throat, when he fell speechless and died. The stranger disappeared, no man interfering to arrest or even to impede him, and the corpse lay for some time neglected where it fell. No cry was raised for a Republic, nor was any thing said of a Republic for months afterwards, when the Pope left the country without a government, by his suddenly and cowardly and unprincipled

flight, and the Deputy Filopanti proposed a Republic, and it was adopted by acclamation. The ministers appointed after Rossi's death were Giobertists. Garibaldi and other republicans long remained out of Rome, and it was that ministry who recalled the Pope : a thing the Republicans never would have done, as they held him in abhorrence before the siege, as the people do since.

The death of Rossi, then, cannot be charged upon the Republicans, with any semblance of justice. It was perhaps effected by the Jesuits, who alone would probably have been able to make the arrangements necessary to prevent interference, discovery and detection. The Albertists, being then numerous, and much exasperated by the article published in the Gazette, might easily have been brought to co-operate in such a plot as the Jesuits might lay, if expertly deceived and flattered ; and the latter would cast the blame upon any persons they pleased, as convenience might dictate. Convenience has since dictated the accusing of the Republicans with the crime : but intelligent Americans will now be able to see how unfounded is the accusation. They will also be able to apply to this case a very good general rule, viz. when a Jesuit is seen at the end of an affair, diligently engaged in using it against some of his enemies, it is reasonable to look for his hand at the beginning, and see whether he did not first arrange the whole for this purpose. Certain it is, that the Jesuits and their advocates, in America as well as in Europe, have been exceedingly clamorous against the Republicans as the murderers of Rossi. They profess to know so much about the matter, that it is to be wished they might tell the whole story.

## CHAPTER IX.

THE proper view of the doctrines and first measures of Pius IX.—The Constituent Assembly.—Proposal of a Republic.—Filopanti.

THE Pope soon discovered, what thousands of wiser and better men had foreseen long before, that he had adopted a fatal course; and that the admission of a claim for improvement, or of any right in men to act, speak or think as they please, would lead straight to the overthrow of Popery. Gioberti, though a papist, had written powerfully in favor of the absurd, the contradictory doctrine, that the Pope's proper place is at the head of civilization; and his intelligent opponents, on both sides of the Atlantic, were perfectly content to have the experiment made, foreseeing its tendency. The moment the Pope began it, he practically denied the fundamental principle of Popery, which is, that it is itself perfect, infallible and of right supreme dictator to the conscience, heart and conduct of mankind. In proclaiming improvements, therefore, he proved himself a true Anti-Pope, and more decidedly so than those who, in past ages, only denied some minor doctrine, or set up pretences to the power of Peter. Pius IX., therefore, was really anti-pope, and his followers were all anti-papists, in at least one fundamental principle; and such they still are, while many of them have since become thoroughly

so. These natural effects of his course, should be duly appreciated: they account for many of the unexpected events we have since seen in Italy. Other influences have co-operated, especially the diffusion of Bibles and evangelical books and tracts, with the conversation and correspondence of friends, and the public preaching of men more or less enlightened in the Gospel. This last was extensively practiced whenever and wherever the patriots had the power in their hands. Their leaders, even military officers, took great pains to have eloquent priests with them, whom they sent out to preach in all directions against the doctrines and abuses of Popery, calling the people to examine the Scriptures, to learn that true Christianity of which they had only been taught the counterfeit. These operations were powerfully seconded by the numerous, pungent, and well-timed tracts, many of them strictly religious, widely and constantly circulated by the patriots, clandestinely during the supremacy of the oppressive government, and openly when they held sway.

The death of Rossi, of which we have already given an account, happened on the 15th of November, 1848; and was used as an excuse for taking the Pope away from Rome, when he was in no danger, as pretended, in order to place him in the power of the enemies of Italy. He escaped from his palace in the disguise of a footman, mounted the box of a coach provided by the Austrian ambassador, and escaped to Gaëta.

An Italian writer thus characterizes this act. "Pius IX. having proclaimed the fine words of Gioberti, put out of remembrance for a little time the atrocious memory of his predecessors; now, on the contrary, he renews it. \* The memory of this man deserves to be execrated for everything. Clement V. in sub-

mitting the Papal see to Philip le Bel, did not directly injure the moral or physical interests of Italy. Clement, even while at Avignon, resisted the will of the Kings. \* \* Pius IX. abandoned Rome, and fled to Gaëta, embraced the most atrocious tyrant in Italy, and blessed his murderers; while, in the name of Christ, he declared that King, though covered with the blood of his citizens, the most just of men!"

On the 21st of January, 1849, the elections were held in all the Roman States, by free and universal suffrage, of 200 representatives of the people, for the Constituent Assembly. They met in Rome on the 1st of February, in the spacious hall of the palace of the Cancellaria, and Gen. Giuseppe Galletti was chosen President.

We have before mentioned, that the choice fell upon men of the highest respectability and patriotism, and in many instances those of the first rank for influence, wealth or learning. Among those who claim our regard was Filopanti, a professor in the University of Bologna, who, although under the excommunication of the Pope for his zeal in the country's cause, was chosen by a large majority, and took a very important and noble stand at both the beginning and the close of the Republic. He has resided for some months in New York, where he enjoys the high esteem and respect which he has so richly merited. We are happy in being able to gratify his friends, by publishing the following sketch of his biography, as well as the accompanying original portrait.

Quirico Filopanti was born in Bologna on the 21st of April, 1815. In 1845 he invented a plan to prevent the inundation of rivers, for which he was made Professor of Hydraulics and



*Quirico Filoparti*





Mechanics in the university of that city. He is author of a popular treatise on physic. In 1848 he was head of the popular party in Bologna; and, when the Swiss regiments were about to join the fugitive Pope at Gaëta, he prevented them, by publishing an appropriate address to them, and arming the higher classes of the people, to oppose their march.

On the 8th of February, 1849, he proposed, in the Constituent Assembly, the decree which declared the Roman Republic. In 1848 and 1849 he fought the Austrians and French. On the 4th of July, 1849, he performed alone, and in the presence of the French forces, the last act of the Republic, by drawing up and presenting to them the protest of the government against their intrusion and violence. Of this the particulars will be given in their place. We now return to the Constituent Assembly.

At the session of February 8th, 1849, Mamiani, the ex-minister of Pius IX., made a splendid speech in favor of the restoration of his master, in which he said: "You have no alternative between the government and the Pope and a Republic. You cannot have a Republic, because it would be overthrown by an European coalition. You must therefore agree to recall the Pontiff."

Filopanti replied, in a speech, which has been hastily sketched in the following words, at the request of the author:—

"I admit that our only alternative is the Pope or a Republic: but I fear not the consequences of the latter. It is impossible and senseless to restore the papacy: therefore we must declare a Republic. There is danger—I acknowledge it—from the re-action in Europe: but that danger would be increased if

our conduct should be vacillating and pusillanimous. Our safety is in raising the cry for a Republic, resolutely, resolutely, resolutely. Our resolution must attain it, with the justice of our cause. I therefore propose the following:

“FUNDAMENTAL DECREE.”

“Article 1. The papacy is annulled, rightfully and in fact, in the temporal government of the Roman State.

“2. The form of government of the Roman State shall be a pure Democracy, and shall bear the glorious title of the *Roman Republic*.

“3. The forces of the Roman Republic shall be principally directed to the moral and physical melioration of all classes of society.

“4. The necessary guaranties shall be given to the Roman Pontiff, for the independent exercise of his spiritual power.

“5. The relations of the Roman Republic with the other powers of Italy shall be determined by the Italian Constituent Assembly.”

The following particulars have been written for us by an eye-witness.

The lobbies of the chambers were crowded with spectators; and, when the second article was read, which declares for a Republic, they broke out in long and general shouts of applause.

The Assembly then began a long discussion of the proposed decree, which they finally reduced to four articles, striking out the third, and amending the last as follows:

“The relations of the Roman Republic to the rest of Italy, shall be such as are required by the common nationality.”

The debate was continued into the night ; and, at one o'clock, on the morning of the 9th, the Fundamental Decree, thus modified, was solemnly approved by a great majority of votes. The spectators gave the liveliest expressions of satisfaction ; and, at that late hour, hastened to all parts of the city, and every where raised shouts of "*Viva la Repubblica !*" while the bells rang in all the churches, in token of joy.

On the following day the Republic was solemnly proclaimed in the Capitol, by the reading of the Fundamental Decree, in the presence of a numerous and applauding multitude of the people of Rome. Many particulars might be given, proving the enthusiasm of the Romans in the capital and in the cities, towns and villages, in all parts of the papal states : but want of space forbids. The conduct of the people, in all respects, was so exemplary and unexceptionable, that the strongest evidence seems necessary to convince our countrymen of some of the simple facts, best known to these acquainted with the real state of things. Most happily a number of Americans, and several American families were in Rome under the Republic ; and their testimony is universally and most strongly in favor of the feelings and conduct of the Romans.

The first burst of enthusiasm, at the declaration of the Republic arose not from any transient excitement. Subsequent events proved, in the most satisfactory manner, that it was sincere and had some deep source below the reach of danger, distress and the severest disappointment. Even now, after a year of renewed oppression and redoubled persecution, after the escape of thousands of patriots, and the exile, the imprisonment and the death of thousands more, the presence of the

French troops is deemed indispensable, and there is reason to expect a new and overwhelming insurrection of the people against the intrusive papal government, at the first favorable moment, and the restoration of the Republic; in the persons of the Triumvirate—the depository of the rightful, legal power of the nation, conferred in the most unquestionable and deliberate manner, and preserved intact, with dignity, and under protest against the unjust and shameful interference of four powerful governments. The following facts will afford some light on the sources of the Roman Republican spirit, and on the means by which it was displayed and fostered during the period in which it prevailed.

Religious liberty was proclaimed and established by the government and fully practised by the people. We have not been able to learn that any case ever occurred, of interference with any person, for any kind of worship. The churches were open every day, as usual, and the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic religion were performed in them, by such priests as chose to assume the task. The government, of course, prohibited them from preaching in favor of the Pope, because he was the chief public enemy, who had excommunicated the patriots and called for armies of foreigners to attack and destroy them.

Liberal priests preached daily, some of them in the public squares, such doctrines and in such different ways as they chose; and their addresses often presented a mixture of Romish and Protestant views, as they were all in the process of change, from popish to evangelical sentiments. Among them was Father Ventura, who preached with great force against some of the false doctrines and abuses of Rome, and who was afterwards

appointed Minister to France for the Republic, and left the capital, on his way to Paris, a short time before the capture of the city by the French. The letter which he addressed to the Pope at that period, has been extensively read in the United States, and declares, that his conduct and that of his priests have irrecoverably estranged the Roman people from them and the Catholic church—in short that “Rome is a Protestant city.” In spite of all this, however, Father Ventura soon afterwards published a letter of renunciation and penitence, confessing that he has greatly sinned, and begging to be restored to the Church. Whether this was genuine or not, or where or under what circumstances he is, we are unable to say. If he has deserted the cause which he had to a considerable extent adopted, he is alone, or nearly so, among the priests in his retraction, although many declared themselves opponents of the popish errors and abuses. Whether he retracted freely or under compulsion or not, or what has become of him, we have never been able to ascertain.

The Italian Magazine, “*Italia del Popolo*,” says :

“The moral power of the papacy has, for a long time, been lost in Europe. Luther destroyed it, by drawing off the North. A single city, which denied its power, and continued to deny it, was sufficient to give it a mortal wound. \* \* Each Pope, on mounting the throne, found the extension of his dominion reduced. It was a piece of land, on whose shores the ocean insensibly encroached, a flower despoiled by every breath of wind. As if directed by some powerful hand, the hand of progressive civilization, princes, nations, philosophers, sectarians, either involuntarily or with deliberate intention, conspired to ruin the colossus;

with its head in the clouds and with feet of clay. To throw off the yoke of Rome was the predominating idea of the eighteenth century, with Italian and foreign governments. They were reputed great and brave whenever they had resisted or conquered a Roman pretension.

Naples refused the tribute, broke the prescriptions, committed to writers the task of combating the papal claims; and if then she left, to be persecuted by friars and inquisitors, the men who had been trusted with it, it was the habit of tyranny, which uses the instrument and then destroys it. But the fruits remained. Joseph II. in Germany, and Leopold in Italy, essayed to reform the papacy with energy. Ricci and the Synod of Pistoia delayed the emancipation. The Jansenists spread themselves, and endeavored to restore the old religious security of primitive Christianity. Voltaire bound the cross more strongly on the back of Catholic Rome, and gave it an activity and a variety of arms which will long remain powerful. Then flowed in the torrent, the revolutionary lava; and all the past was shaken by the thunder. Then Napoleon, by imprisoning the Pope, transferring him to Paris, threatening him, and politically using him, completed the discredit and abasement of popery. Then, the giant having fallen, and political inertness giving place to the restoration of philosophical studies, spirituality revived and schools which did not deny religion, but did not acknowledge the papacy as a part of it."

From the same Magazine :

"Liberty is irreconcilable with the papacy.

"We are not the disciples of Voltaire and the eighteenth century. They destroyed and denied; and, because they de-

stroyed, we seek to build : because they denied we affirm. Humanity, now as ever, is profoundly and inevitably religious ; and, because it is religious, it makes war against Popery, a form, a phantasm of religion—not religion.

Popery is dead, dead in blood, dead for having betrayed its duty of protecting from the strong oppressor ; dead for having committed idolatry with princes for more than three centuries ; dead for having a second time crucified Christ in the name of selfishness, \* \* dead for having published a faith in which it does not believe ; dead for denying human liberty and the dignity of our immortal souls ; dead for condemning science in Galileo, philosophy in Giordano Bruno, religious aspiration in John Huss and Jerome of Prague, political life with anathemas against the rights of people, civil life with Jesuitism, with the terrors of the Inquisition and with the example of corruption, family life by confession converted into espionage and by division sown between father and son, brother and brother, husband and wife."

A recent work, by a distinguished Italian writer is designed to prove, that "The Romans, from their origin to our day, have constantly displayed by facts, in spite of the conspiracies of government and religion, three moral qualities, unextinguishable, because inherent in their nature, viz. an ardent *love of liberty*, an acute and discriminating *judgment and contempt of death*." We have not room to give extracts from the interesting work.

The following is a passage from one of the innumerable addresses made in the public squares in Rome during the Republic. It has been furnished, by request, by the author : an artist, originally educated by Jesuits, but robbed, imprisoned,

banished and otherwise persecuted by them all his life after. His father, imprisoned on the son's account, at an advanced age, died of madness in the hands of his jailors :

“Open the History of Europe, and read. What have your brethren done, the priests, monks and Jesuits? What rich abbeys are these, what are these convents, with immense possessions? All, all you have made for yourselves, being, with one accord devoted to gaining money. Ye followers of the riches, which Christ loved not, and of which he said, as in Luke 8. xiv., ‘Riches and the pleasures of this life choke the word’ of the Lord. And now, at length, the clock has struck, the hour of punishment has arrived, for Pharisees, priests and scribes; Rome has wakened, and the triumph of brotherly love and true Christianity has begun. Pius IX., who began a solemn duty, under remorse at the sight of what his predecessors had done, unfortunately repented before he had proceeded far, and is now doing penance with the tyrants of the people, a prisoner of the barbarous powers, and has once more placed himself as a pedestal for a ferocious despotism. The blood which is shed in the immortal city will flow with the current of those maledictions which are yet to overwhelm the papacy and its supporters; and your trade, false Bishops, will come to an end. Do you not see the symptoms? The phantoms you call up refuse to appear—the people know them.”

When we consider the amount and variety of labor to be done in Rome, during the short period of the Republic, we may well be astonished at the activity and success of those who had the chief parts to perform

We should at first turn our eyes to the severe and long-con-



tinued oppression under which the people had suffered ; and of this we may form some ideas, if we know what the intellectual, moral and social condition of England was before the Reformation, and then imagine what it would have been at this day, if that Reformation had been suppressed by fire and sword, as it was in Italy ; and if the country had not only been kept subject to popery ever since, but had been, like Italy, the centre and seat of its power, oppressions and corruptions. Next, we should take into view the discouragements following the recent hopeful period of revolution in Europe, the general reflux of the irresistible tide, which had swept back every other country except France ; and France, though the only sister Republic, on whom the fullest and most hearty reliance had been placed, was now on the top of the foremost wave of that awful inundation, with all the monarchies rushing after her in full career, to engulf the new, feeble, inexperienced and unsupported Republic of Rome. And, to add the greatest possible discouragement, France approached like a traitor, using false pretences and making false promises, to gain confidence and betray it.

Then we should contemplate the variety of persons entrusted with civil and military authority. Few of them had ever before been placed side by side in council or in the field, in positions at all like those in which they were now suddenly brought together ; they were necessarily in a great measure unacquainted with each other, as well as unpracticed in some of their most important duties. Mutual confidence between them and the people, as well as among themselves, could not yet have been established, for the want of time.

Yet, when we look at the results, we are compelled to admire

and exclaim : What page of history, ancient or modern, contains such deeds as these ? Can any one point to a single spot stained by cruelty, treachery, violence, cowardice, falsehood, or even selfishness ? And to what can these most remarkable effects be attributed, but to the union of heart prevailing among the people, the troops, the officers and the government ; their devotion to the right cause, their clear apprehension and opposition to the wrong one ? The Roman Republicans, therefore offer a claim to our respect, as well for the manner in which they sustained their principles, as for the principles themselves, and encourage in every good man a hope for the future, which few, if any other people could possibly have heightened, or even sustained through scenes of such peculiar danger and darkness.

Here, however, we may read, in clearer light than on any other page of history, what a nation may be brought to, by a deep and bitter draught of the largest cup of papal oppression, followed by a taste of the pure waters of Christianity, with their temporal and spiritual blessings, offering freedom and happiness to all mankind.

## CHAPTER X.

RECEPTION of the Republic by the Roman people.—First signs of opposition by the French Government.—General Oudinot's Expedition.—Civita Vecchia.

A Republic was now again established in that city, where one of the greatest republics of antiquity flourished, but which had since been the residence of the greatest oppressors of mankind during many centuries, the chief cause of all the great evils which Europe has suffered, and the source of innumerable evils also to many a distant land. "*Anti-Christ*" is indeed an expressive term, when we study its true meaning in the history of Popery. The principles against which she has ever made war: the rights of man and the truth of God, were now proclaimed in the very centre of her old domain; and the standard of liberty, religious and political, was displayed amidst the ruins of that despotism which reigned with an iron sceptre over the body and the soul.

It would be a gratifying task to record some of the numerous demonstrations of exultation and hope, with which the people of the Roman States, as well as the citizens of the capital, welcomed the new Republic. The change was not, as it had been to Americans, a new improvement upon a system which pro-

tected the great interests of the people, better than most old governments on earth ; merely something better, and promising security against the abuses which excited them to war : but the overthrow of Popery was the breaking of chains which had bound society under the feet of a false, vicious and cruel priesthood, and the introduction, in a day, of such blessings as our ancestors struggled for during several centuries, and which we are ready to say they never overrated. The Romans knew, far better than we ever can, the value of the blessings which were now promised them : for they had intimate, because practical acquaintance with the want of them. Their joy was sincere ; and they expressed it in many ways, some of them peculiarly affecting.

Perfect liberty of worship was proclaimed and practised ; and, contrary to the expectations of many persons in other countries, no opposition was made to it by any of the people. Crimes seemed to cease at once ; and through all the existence of the new government, the people seemed to govern themselves, cheerfully and from choice, almost without the aid of police or soldiers. But we have not room to dwell on the details ; and must pass to topics far less inviting, but indispensable in the page of history which is now open before us. Changing the scene, we must leave Rome, and turn our eyes to that more powerful Republic, to which the Romans naturally looked for the most sincere of their friends in Europe.

After the suppression of the great insurrection in Paris by General Cavaignac, the French government, as if terrified to an extreme, turned to a policy in direct opposition to some of the leading principles avowed at the Proclamation of the

Republic. And at that epoch began a period in the history of that nation, which must ever stand as a page irreparably disgraced by deceit, hypocrisy and the shedding of innocent blood, far more republican and noble than her own. And this she did in the service of the basest of monarchs, the most persecuting and atrocious of potentates, the only one who arrogates the rights of God as well as those of man. It is a revolting task to trace a career so disgraceful to humanity as that pursued by France towards the Roman Republic: but it is one of imperious necessity; and a brief review of it may prove useful to men of reflection on this side of the Atlantic. Principles have sometimes been avowed like those which have been acted upon by the French, and men have dared to arise among us too much like the leaders of that enterprize. On future occasions it will be well, if they are received with the abhorrence which they ought every where to excite, and are frowned down with indignation at their first appearance.

The newspapers then the organs of the government, the "Journal des Debats" and the "Presse," soon began to accuse the Romans of ingratitude towards the Pope, after he had fled from his country, thrown himself into the arms of one of the bitterest of her enemies and fulminated anathemas against those who, after the French example, had dared to make a Republic. And this was done in opposition to the fifth article of their own declaration, which solemnly promises to respect the rights of other nations. The ministry next proposed to the French Assembly, to occupy the Roman States with troops, claiming that all Catholic nations had a duty in protecting the Pope's rights in the territory of the Church.

The Constitution of the French Republic contains this article: "Article 5th—France respects foreign nationality. She never again employs her forces against the liberty of any nation."

Odillon Barrot, on the 31st of March, 1848, declared that every Italian state had a right to liberty and independence, or, as reported: "After the absolute right of all the Italian states to choose that form of government which they judge convenient, in all the plenitude of their independence, and the formal declaration of France, that she intends to maintain that independence, there exists another question—the necessity of the Independence of Italy." The same statesman also declared to the Committee of the Assembly: "that the intention of the government was not to make France concur for the destruction of the Republic of Rome: and that it would act free from all connection with other powers."

And, when the report of the Committee presented these declarations to the Assembly, on the 16th of April, the President of the Council said: "I do not deny a single word pronounced by me before the Committee and referred to this Assembly." And he added: "We shall not go to Italy to impose a government, neither that of the Republic nor any other. We will not use the forces of France to defend in Rome one or another form of government! Our intention is, to be present at the events which may affect the double interest of our influence and of the liberty which may be exposed to hazard.

After the arrival of the French forces at Cività Vecchia, they declared, on the 24th of April, that the French government would "respect the wishes of the majority of the Roman people—and never impose upon them any form of government." On the

26th Gen. Oudinot repeated, that it was "not the design of the French to exercise any oppressive influence, nor to impose upon the Romans any government contrary to their will." On the 7th of May, the President of the Council declared to the Assembly, that "those proclamations, the work of the Minister for foreign affairs, comprehended all the conception of the expedition." The chairman of the Committee said: "We are to march on Rome only to protect her against a foreign intervention, and the excesses of a counter-revolution—as protectors." He added afterwards: "The Assembly did not wish that Rome should be counter-revolutionized under the direction of Austria."

And these most explicit and unequivocal declarations, were acknowledged and reiterated by the Minister for foreign affairs, who thus expressed himself: "The scope of the expedition is that of securing to the Roman people the conditions of good government, good liberty, conditions which would have been compromised by reaction or by foreign intervention." And he denied that orders had been given to Gen. Oudinot to attack the Roman Republic, and that Gen. Oudinot had given notice to the Roman government that they must abandon their power.

After all these declarations and assurances, which could not have been made more clear and satisfactory, the National Assembly of France proceeded to a solemn vote, and adopted a resolution, which is before us, in these words: "*The National Assembly invites the government to take, without delay, the acts necessary that the expedition of Italy shall not be swerved from the scope assigned.*"

And, with all these things before them, the Roman government, confiding and trusting to the French faith, proceeded in

good faith themselves, and displayed, though to their own great loss, a part of that honorable and noble character, which they maintained to the last. They might well claim our admiration for every step they took in their whole course. We have been slow in doing them the honor they so well deserved : but we may now make some small amends, by admitting and praising the upright and heroic character they displayed, from the beginning to the end of their career. And this we can do with the greater ease and effect, because we have all along to regard Roman truth, honesty, magnanimity, calmness, refinement, humanity, heroism and fortitude, in direct contrast, side by side, with French cunning, prevarication, falsehood, ingratitude and malignity, followed by a long train of systematic aspersion, against those whom they have been afraid to encounter like men.

In April the first intimation was given, by the French ministry, of a new and false doctrine, directly in opposition to the supreme rights of the people, on which their own government was based, and which France had so recently declared she would respect in all nations. This was, the doctrine that all Catholic nations have interests in the independence of the Pope and are bound to secure it. His independence is directly and necessarily at war with the freedom of the Roman people ; and this artful invention, so worthy of Jesuit invention and of adoption by such men as Louis Bonaparte and his supporters, was the hollow pretext for the atrocious course of proceedings, then begun and still continued, whose history taxes so severely the feelings of the writer and the reader. There is hardly any other page in the annals of mankind, which the one might not record



with fewer blushes of shame for the authors and less sorrow and admiration for their victims.

It was in that month that the ministry first attempted to bring before the French National Assembly a recommendation to occupy the Roman States for the purpose of securing the liberty of the supreme head of the Church. It has since been proved, by the publication of the despatch of Swartzenberg to the Austrian ambassador in London, to be communicated to the British government, that France, early in April, had made an agreement with Austria and other powers, to go to Rome and restore the Pope as an absolute power. This document is of such importance, that it is proper to introduce it entire in this place.

“ Vienna, April 20th, 1829.

“ MY LORD,—The government of the emperor has sent to Marshal Radetzsky orders to advance the troops into Tuscany and the Legations.

“ In deciding on the expedition, we have only responded to the urgent demands of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and of the Pontiff, the latter having also demanded the armed intervention of France, Spain and Naples. The object of our intervention is to restore legal order, and with it the legitimate government. When that shall be obtained, (and we hope for it soon, thanks to the better part of the population, who will contribute to it, as we are certain,) our troops will retire. In relation to the intervention in the states of the Church, we have wished to await the result of the conference of Gaëta, from which must proceed the decisive determination of all the powers herein called in council. But France having resolved to *anticipate* the decision of the conference by the expedition of Cività Vecchia, we hope for nothing less from our isolated forces, who have the

same scope prescribed by the determination of the four combined powers.

"By our care we wish to satisfy the desires of the Holy Father, which are identical with those of the civilized world, by restoring to the head of the universal Church his liberty and independence; and the destruction of these cannot be seen with indifference by Catholic nations, and through the work of an anarchical party.

"France, on well examining things, cannot have any other view. I therefore believe, that the measures of the two powers, although they seem to be *dictated by different inspirations*, will not only lead to no conflict, but will result in producing equally the well-being of the people of central Italy and the restoration of general order.

"I pray you, my Lord, to have this despatch read by the first Secretary of State.

SWARTZENBERG.

On the 19th of April the Paris "*Presse*" gave an account of the Congress of Gaëta, but said the intervention by the four powers remained suspended, because the fleets of Austria and Spain were occupied elsewhere, and Spain could not bear the expense, and France would not. It added, that the Pope had applied to Austria alone; and Austria, wishing to act in accordance with France, assured him of immediate assistance. At the same time the Austrian cabinet invited "the Most Christian nation" (France) to co-operate.

The "*Presse*" afterwards announced, that the Austrian and French armies will operate in conformity with the intentions of the Pontiff. The French troops will remain at Cività Vecchia until a corps of twenty thousand Austrians shall be placed in detachments between Modena and Ferrara, to occupy the Lega-

tions in case of need. It is however agreed, that in case it shall be necessary to occupy Rome, the French and Austrian troops shall be simultaneously called to restore order, and to consolidate it."

The French ministers then authorized an expedition of sixteen thousand men, and an appropriation of one million two hundred thousand francs, almost without the knowledge of the Chamber, the object of which was declared to be: "to keep alive French influence in Italy, and to ascertain, in a friendly manner, the wishes of the people, in order to sanction it, whatever it might be." "An excellent way to ascertain the wishes of the people," exclaims an Italian writer, "to surround them with a circle of bayonets!"

On the morning of April 23d, 1850, the steam-vessels of the expedition, anchored in the port of Marseilles, sailed for Toulon. They were the Panama, the Infernale and the Labrador, with the Rear Admiral Trehouart; and they were followed by the Veloce, the Tenare and the frigate Albatross. These vessels, on reaching Toulon, joined those there prepared, and the flotilla then consisted of six steam-frigates, the Panama, Oronoco, Labrador, Albatross, Christopher Colombe and Sané, two steam-corvettes, the Infernale and Veloce, and two smaller ships, the Tenare and the Tonnère. The flotilla was to be reinforced near Cività Vecchia by the squadron commanded by Admiral Baudin, consisting of three ships of the line; the Jena, flag-ship, the Inflexible and Friedland, and two steam-frigates: the Vauban and Magellan. The French had not had such a naval force in the Mediterranean since 1840.

This entire squadron, however, was to be divided between

Cività Vecchia and Ancona; and the Panama arrived at the latter port a few days after, with a vice-admiral on board. That visit was made apparently for the purpose of conveying back the French consul to Ancona: but really to ascertain the feelings of the Preside and the commandant of the fortress, Zambeccari, thinking they might prove as feeble as those of Cività Castellano: but he was soon convinced of the contrary.

## CHAPTER XI.

Natives and Foreigners.—Mazzini.—Garibaldi.

**ONE** of the aspersions cast upon the defenders of Rome is, that they consisted almost entirely of "*foreign adventurers.*"

Were Mazzini, Garibaldi, Avezzana, Masina, Manara and Zambeccari adventurers? What then are the editors of the Popish journal in America, or the Irish, French or Spanish priests and Jesuits, who come to America to vilify the men, whose principles they profess to us to hold in admiration? And who are Pius IX., the cardinals from all countries who elected him, the more than ninety thousand soldiers, who came to restore them to the places which they had sunk to the lowest grade of vice and contempt?

Masina and Manara, rich men and of noble families, fell in battle, in the defence of Rome. Zambeccari is of the highest nobility of Bologna; and many, many young men, of ancient families, lost their lives among the volunteers.

And what is meant by "*foreigners?*" There were indeed some foreigners in the Roman troops: a few Poles and Frenchmen; but few, very few in all. Almost the entire troops were Italians, born in the country; and the majority of the defenders

of Rome, too, were Romans, natives of the Papal States. This is an incontrovertible fact, for the military rolls contain the proof of it. But were all the others foreigners? Who claims a right to call any Italian a foreigner, in any part of Italy whatever? All Italians have the same country, marked out by Providence for one; they have one language, to a great extent the same origin and customs, and they all look far back to the same great history, around on the same one great domestic enemy, leagued with many smaller ones; all have one and the same interest and hope, the final overthrow of that enemy, and all look forward to the same bright destiny, in which the liberty of their brethren, and the Gospel of their primitive Christian forefathers offer a promising and a harmonious re-union. It is this union which the enemies of Italy have aimed to prevent for many centuries; and the dangers which it threatens to them are well understood and greatly apprehended. The Popes and the Emperors kept up the fatal divisions of the middle ages; and have long enjoyed the effects of their success, sustaining their usurped power, by uniting themselves in an unholy alliance. Metternich was fully aware of the importance of keeping the people of Italy divided, as he expressly declared that their union, so patriotically advocated by the leading patriots, is inconsistent with the interests of the great European powers.

Who then are the foreigners? We may ask again; and again we may reply—The thousands of foreign soldiers who bombarded Rome, the many writers in Europe and America who have belied the patriots, the priests, bishops, cardinals and Pope, many of whom are foreigners by birth, and the rest of whom have

expatriated themselves by turning traitors and committing high treason in overthrowing the lawful government of the country.

Intelligent and virtuous Italians do not believe, nor call themselves foreigners in Rome: nor are they so. They regard that city as the metropolis of Italy; and all who aspire at Italian unity, keep their eyes and their hopes fixed upon it. The Republic proclaimed at Rome was the true and natural germ of the future Italian republic. This is the reason why all the patriots ran and offered their arms when Rome was threatened. It has not been the Italians who desired their division into so many different political states. That *division* is the work of violence. The Italians have desired *National unity*. And it is truly ridiculous to hear it pretended that the Italians say: "We are devoted to the Roman cause, because it is our national cause," and to hear a few malicious strangers say: "you Italians are not Romans—you have no business in Rome."

But the Italians have taken the oath to fight for their country, whose head is Rome. Rome is their mother and nurse, the source of their history and their glory.

The name of Mazzini has been, for several years, at the head of the Italian patriots, and deservedly so, as the following sketch of his life and character will testify:

He is a native of Genoa, where he was bred to the legal profession: but falling under the suspicion of being a patriot in early life, he was banished, and has spent most of his time since 1831 in England, France and Switzerland, devoted, with extraordinary zeal, intelligence and perseverance to the benefit of Italy. It is said that, while he was quite a youth, the police of Genoa summoned him to appear, and inquired why he so often walked

alone in solitary places by moonlight; and that, on his replying, that he was fond of meditation, they warned him not to continue his practice, because the government did not like to have young men meditate. It appears that the experience which he had of the arbitrary treatment of the rulers, made him adopt the most liberal ideas; and few men have so much greatly distinguished themselves in favor of liberty, by a devoted life and superior abilities.

Mazzini repaired to Italy at the commencement of the revolution of 1848, and he imparted enthusiasm to many of the Italian youth, who fought valiantly. He has always spoken and written in favor of the democratic principle, which procured him many enemies: for numbers of the Italian patriots believed their countrymen to be unprepared for self-government, as doubtless thousands of Americans think at this day, who would yet desire to see them, and all the rest of mankind, under Republics, if able to enjoy them. Mazzini was editor of the able magazine, *L'Italia del Popolo*, (Italy of the People,) in Milan. When that city fell, he retired to Switzerland; and, by means of some of his adherents—superior officers—he organized resistance to the Austrians in the Valtellina, where he proclaimed the Italian Republic, which proved to be of itself only a name. He was called to Rome at the proposal of Garibaldi. Some differences of opinion arose there, from time to time, as might be expected, under circumstances so extraordinary and trying: but Mazzini, in his diplomatic strategics, displayed both honesty and skill vastly superior to his French antagonists. His state papers, issued during the Republic, and his letters to the French minis-



ters since, have been read with the greatest admiration by our countrymen.

Mazzini has a great heart and is a pure and enthusiastic patriot : but he seems wanting in experience of men and things. He could not believe that the French army would prosecute the destruction of a Sister Republic, and met their corrupt and false-hearted pretences and deceit, with the frankness and confidence of a true and generous man. If he and his cause have suffered from it, the character of truth and a noble heart will belong to him, no less than that of a writer of the most superior ability and eloquence. After the dissolution of the Society of Carbonari in 1831, Mazzini formed that of *Young Italy*, ["*Giovane Italia*,"] which extended its ramifications to almost every part of Italy, while its head, being in London, was out of the reach of its enemies, and discovery was impossible. In 1842, having become convinced of that most important truth, that the Italians stood in need, most of all things, of the Gospel, to prepare them for liberty, he directed the attention and efforts of the society chiefly to the diffusion of the Scriptures, and other good and evangelical publications among his countrymen at home and abroad.

As head of the Roman Triumvirate, Mazzini occupied the position of the highest importance ; and he is still regarded as the chief depository of the sovereignty of the people.

## GARIBALDI.

This distinguished Italian general belongs to a family of Maritime Nice, and is nearly of the same age as Mazzini. Like other Italian youth, he embraced Republican principles, and join-

ed the Society of Young Italy. He was implicated in the movement of 1834, and fled into France, after being condemned to death.

Garibaldi has penetrating eyes, but is mild, gentle and amiable in address and manners, and frank, animated and winning in conversation, whenever he engages in it with persons he knows and esteems, though naturally taciturn and retiring. He is highly patriotic and disinterested. Well fitted by nature to command, he is loved and respected by all who know him. He is simple in his dress, and disinclined to pomp and display.

Garibaldi is versed in the sciences and letters, which he has cultivated with zeal, particularly mathematics. His bravery, perseverance and success in the service of his country, especially at Rome, were equalled only by his decision, equanimity and fortitude during his astonishing retreat after the fall of the city, and the unbroken spirit he still displays after all his sufferings and afflictions.

The following facts are selected from a long biographical sketch of this distinguished and noble-hearted Italian commander, which was prepared for the present work, but which cannot be admitted entire, for the want of room. The author hopes ere long to present it, with many more details, in a separate volume. The exploits of Garibaldi, although they have gained for him the highest fame and confidence among his countrymen, are but little known to the world, while his disinterested character has been basely misrepresented by the enemies of Italy.

Garibaldi was educated for a sailor, by his father, who was a mariner by profession. He speaks, in terms of affecting love,

reneration and gratitude, of his mother, to whose domestic virtues, kind care and sympathy for the unfortunate, he declares himself indebted, for "the little service" he has been able to render to his country, and which his countrymen "have so much overrated." His early reading of the history of Rome, under the instructions of an older brother, appears to have given an important turn to his mind. He saw what his country had been; and, as he more and more realized her degraded and suffering condition in later days, he ardently desired to aid in freeing her from her base, deceitful and implacable enemies. The deeds of his early life on which he has ever dwelt with the greatest pleasure, are the rescue of several persons from death, at the risk of his own life; and his early voyages with his father and other captains, to several ports of Italy, the Levant and the Black Sea, made him acquainted with cases of shipwreck, for whose sufferers his sympathy was often excited. His biography affords the plainest evidence that his bravery and hardihood in war have been produced by his generous interest in the oppressed and defenceless.

One of his earliest voyages was made to Rome, in a small vessel of his father's; and impressions made on his mind and heart by the ruins of ancient greatness and the evidence of present poverty and suffering were strong and permanent. Often, in the solitudes of South America, he has since meditated on the condition of his countrymen, and prayed God to enable him to do something for Rome. When first made acquainted with the secret union of patriots for the deliverance of Italy, his joy was such, that he has said: "Certainly Columbus could not have been so happy at the discovery of America!" After his escape

from death by leaving Genoa in disguise, and navigating the Mediterranean for some time, he went to Brazil, where, during fourteen years, he performed many deeds of valor, as an officer in the patriot service on the Plata, and the coast. There he married a young woman, a native of the country, who became distinguished as his constant companion in arms in his numerous perilous scenes, by land and water, until the Italian revolution of 1848 called him back to his native country. She followed him to Italy, with their two little sons; and, after standing by his side through the scenes we have yet to describe during the siege of Rome, she fell a victim to the fatigues and privations of his retreat, and was buried on a solitary mountain-side on the eastern coast of Italy.

Garibaldi, after numerous subsequent dangers, arrived at New York about the first of July 1850, where he declined public honors offered him by the citizens and government; he sought retirement and the simple life which he prefers and the society of a few friends, while his shattered health gradually recovered its vigor. Some of the scenes and facts with which he was best acquainted, have been rendered more plain by explanations which he has consented to give; and the accompanying portrait has been engraved from an excellent daguerrotype for which he was solicited to sit.

But we are soon to review the wonderful exploits of Garibaldi in Rome, where his entrance, with a corps raised in the papal states, excited the highest enthusiasm, and his skill and gallantry effected prodigies.

## CHAPTER XII.

THE opening of the Inquisition of Rome.—Feelings of the people on entering it.—The edifice.—Its history.—Divisions.

THE following account of it is translated from "*L'Italia del Popolo*," and was written by a distinguished writer, F. De Boni, an eye witness, of what he describes.

Near the Vatican Square, between the Church of St. Peter and the Castle of Sant Angelo, extends a street which bears a melancholy name: "*Via della Inquisizione*"—THE STREET OF THE INQUISITION. There that tribunal resides, which makes the altar a stepping-stone to the prison.

In that street multitudes of people daily crowded in March and April of 1849, and passed through the spacious edifice to which it leads, uttering imprecations and maledictions as they returned, then silently dispersed to their homes, with indignation, fear and horror contending in their breasts. Sometimes a shout might be heard, a cry of "*Viva la Repubblica!*" and then a hundred voices would reply: for a *Viva* then expressed, to every heart, a malediction on the past and a hope of the future.

Falsehoods and calumnies have been published respecting this subject. For the sake of truth, then, let us register, in the following pages, the memory of facts, which will afford assistance

in tracing the picture of the Italian revolution. Being sure of triumph, we are not impatient. Let us for the present consign over our vengeance to history.

On the 4th of April, 1849, the government of the Republic, (that is, the Assembly and Executive power,) moved by a sentiment of justice and christian compassion, having established, on the ruins of the papal tyranny, the legitimate reign of brotherly equality, decreed that the houses of the Holy Office should become the habitations of poor families, who had only miserable dwellings, in unhealthy and confined quarters of Rome. And, in order to teach, in a practical manner, that idleness leads to misery, and to cultivate a love of labor, self-respect and self-dependence, the government did not grant the apartments gratuitously, but required the payment of small sums, in amounts and ways within the reach of all, at the end of each month. They intended thus to cancel, on a republican plan, the remains of ancient tyranny, by consecrating to beneficence what papal severity had devoted to torture.

Consequently the Holy Office, which for three centuries had been closed, except to the victims of suspicion, and the martyrs of liberty and conscience, whom it buried in prison, or gave to the flames, was thrown open to the people. Crowds entered it day after day, and were excited by the deepest emotions, at the terrible spectacle. Within these walls the people took their most solemn abjurations against the clerical orders, and repeated from their hearts the oath against the government of the priests. The people can reason clearly; and, in those religious prisons, they better understood the necessity of rejecting the pastor who bears a sword instead of a crook, and more admired and loved the

gentle doctrine of the Nazarene, while shuddering at the tortures inflicted in his name. By seeing the effects of the dominion of the clerical system, they understood the cruelty which had enforced the creed of the catholic primate in Italy. They saw his hand applying instruments of blood, guided by barbarous zeal, sacrilegious ambition and ignorance. The knowledge of the people is all in the heart. By calling to mind the past, in their imagination, they depicted the horrible scenes which had occurred within those walls year after year; felt in their own hearts the agonies endured by men, who had disdained to sell their consciences for the price of their blood, although ignorant of their history and even of their names. With rage and imprecations, they made the circuit of those apartments, prisons and subterranean passages, which had heard so many groans, witnessed so many tears and sorrows, swallowed up so many victims and been the mysterious centre of that universal religious despotism, which, with subtil chains, not yet destroyed, bound down all Europe, and in the latest centuries has sustained civil tyranny. The spectators perhaps sometimes, thinking they were dreaming, and feeling as if not secure, would look behind them, fearing to see a Father Inquisitor appear, and in revenge for their profanation, shut the door of those horrid prisons.

And what awful scenes did history bring up to the mind, to those who passed through those dismal halls!

From this place, so near the Vatican, issued the orders for the slaughter of the Jews and the last Mussulmans in Spain. Within this building was decreed the murder of the Waldenses in the Guardia of Lombardy and the Subalpine Vallies; here Galileo was tortured, the imprisonment of Gianone was

ordered, Pasquali was condemned to the flames, as well as Carnesecchi, Paleario and Giordano Bruno. Here were planned the murder of the Ugonotti and the horrors of Flanders. Here the censorship was organized, war was made against the printing press, a holy act was pronounced treason, and attempts were made to chain the mind. But that Prometheus has now broken its bonds, and the world is going on under its influence. From this place proceeded the mysterious orders which sent at once, to all parts of Europe, unarmed but formidable legions of men, towards the same object. Here was thrown out an immense net, which confined, in the same meshes the monarch and the peasant; which transformed the wife into the accuser of her husband, the son into the betrayer of his father. Here was, and will soon be again, the whispering gallery of all Europe. But how long shall it last?

He that enters this building, and is not utterly ignorant of history, must be moved with deep emotions, amidst the stench of putrid corpses, and cannot but take an oath for the cause of the people, while he thinks of the humane doctrines of Christ, who pardoned, while dying for his enemies. We will now endeavor to describe the edifices, as memory enables us, not as they formerly had been, but as they were when seen by the Roman people in the month of April, 1849.

The edifice of the Holy Roman Inquisition was erected in part about the middle of the sixteenth century, of simple and secure architecture, as much as was required by the times, when taste, preserving a trace of the dying popular greatness, was declining. The present remains of it do not show what the interior was in those times, when the imprisonment of Luther-



ans was demanded. It is presumed by some, that the edifice rests its walls upon a prison of Nero.

This great fabric may be divided into three parts, having the form of two rectangular buildings and a trapezium united. The first rectangular part, which fronts the street, originally belonged to a Cardinal; and Pius V. gave it to the Inquisition, who added a number of cells. It has little ornament on the front, and only two stories, each with a *loggiato*, or gallery, with columns of the Tuscan order, if my memory is correct. The second rectangular part, which is constructed in like manner, differs only in being of smaller dimensions and more simple. It had originally two stories and two galleries; the lower of which, in the former half of the seventeenth century, was shut in to make new prisons, the greater part of the subterranean cells probably being then abandoned. Perhaps at the same time another story was built, where new prisons were formed, the only ones which in our age have received prisoners, in this second rectangle. The remaining part, served, in all probability, for the family of the Holy Office, where no other persons could enter. This third part remained incomplete, wanting the left wing; and the right wing is not finished. A high wall extends transversely, to exclude from human view the horrid mysteries which, for three centuries, were performed in that populous tomb.

In the month of March, (1849,) the government of the Republic ordered accommodations for stables for the national artillery, and appropriated a part of the Inquisition, under the closed gallery of the second court. There the Father Inquisitor, a Dominican, resided, whom in the great fervor of disdain, no one offended. He offered no other resistance to the will of the gov-

ernment, but a protest; and he was allowed to protest. In order to obtain a place to stable the horses, a space was opened in the walls; when the workmen discovered an aperture. The ardent curiosity which had always, up to that time, surrounded every thing relating to the Holy Office, and the hatred against the government of the priests, suspended their labors. The rubbish was removed, they descended into a small subterranean place, damp, without light or passage out, with no floor but a blackish oleagenous earth resembling that of a cemetery. Here and there were scattered about pieces of garments, of ancient fashions—the clothes of unfortunate persons, who had been thrown down from above, and died of wounds, fear or hunger. A baiocco (or penny) of Pius 7th, was picked up, which probably denotes the epoch when that abode of darkness and despair was walled up. The rich soil had hardly begun to be removed, before human bones were uncovered in some places, with some very long locks of hair, which had doubtless ornamented the heads of females. The hands trembled, as well as the hearts of those who went on to uncover and collect those funereal reliques. What temples had been shaded by those tresses? what opinions had been their crime? who had sent spies to seize these victims? who can answer the questions? who will ever be able? Poor martyrs of ignorance and fanaticism, torn perhaps from the mother's arms, to be thrown into a cloister, and from the cloister into such a dungeon, without light or door; still young and beautiful! These locks of hair were dishevelled in their agonies of death, and there they expired, disconsolate, forgotten by the world, without a kiss from a friend, without receiving a sigh or a tear, or even a handful of dust upon their corpses.

Many of the spectators carried away pieces of the earth and hair, as amulets against the tyranny of the Pope. It is certain that the "Trap-door" swallowed victims of whom it was important to the Holy Office to destroy all traces, because the Foro, or Judgment-hall is over it, in the second story of the first edifice, and it is exactly under the vestibule of the chamber of the "Second Father Companion," which adjoined the Hall of the Tribunal.

The other modern prisons are contiguous to the last court, which has been converted into a garden. Each of those prisons is a very small cell, capable of containing only a single person, being in two stories and all alike. They are accessible from an exceedingly narrow corridor, like the cells of a convent. The walls of this passage are every where covered with pictures, and inscriptions commenting upon them, which intimate the horrid nature of the institution, and hold up to view the severest dogmas of the Catholic religion, not interpreted in a spirit of forgiveness. So well does the Court of Rome know how confine pardon to heaven. At every step, and near every door, the solemn figure of Christ confronts you, not painted according to representations of the Gospel,—not as if affected more by sympathizing sorrow for men than for himself: but in correspondence with the system of the Inquisition, as if threatening from the cross. On every side are scripture passages and mottos, which sentence to eternal flames the hardened sinner. Yet the most tremendous inscriptions were erased after the flight of the Pope.

There, where the French government has placed the correctional prisoners, monks and friars had prisons in the Holy Office. The cells were furnished with beds; and there the great-

est disorder and filth every where prevailed. Here and there were worn-out cushions, coverlets, chairs and tables, and old clothes of prisoners who died in the cells many years ago. In a certain very small cell were things which indicated horrible secrets : a piece of a woman's handkerchief, of large size, and an old bonnet of a girl about ten years old. Poor little child ! What offence, perhaps unknown to you, could it have been, which threw you into this place and destroyed the innocent peace of your infantile years ; which taught you to weep in the season of smiles, and perhaps deprived you of your dear and early life ? In another cell were found four sandals, and several nuns' cords, a little spindle, caskets containing needles, crucifixes, and unfinished stockings, with the knitting-needles still well pointed, and an infant's coach.

And so, in almost every one of the prison-rooms were to be seen clothes, ornaments and other relics of their former occupants ; and, as every thing was wrapt in deep and mournful mystery, the imaginations of the people re-called ancient tragical stories, and they wept over the misfortunes of persons of whose names they were ignorant.

The walls of all the cells were covered with inscriptions, some of which expressed despairing grief, but most of them resignation, even in that abode, and under the sufferings inflicted there, so well fitted to becloud the mind, to terrify the boldest heart and to bend the most iron-will.

Under the two courts subterranean apartments abounded, communicating with each other. A few only were solitary ; and to those there was only one way of access, viz. a trap-door, which denoted *death* ! Some of them were prisons at first, and

afterwards converted into store-rooms. To their ceilings were still fastened iron rings, which formerly served to give to the *Question*, (torture!) and afterwards to suspend provisions. In one cell on the ground-floor, in the second building, a square piece of marble was observed in the floor, which looked like the cover of a hole. It was raised, and beneath was a vault, which proved to be a *Vade in pace*, (go in peace—that is, a place of silent death.) Not a ray of light ever could have entered, except when that funereal marble was lifted for a moment, and then it soon again fell, over the head of the condemned person, who was left to die of hunger, in the cold and darkness, and amidst a stillness unbroken unless by his own cries or prayers.

A portion of those subterraneous apartments were closed in the present century, or near the close of the last, as was plainly discovered by a careful examination of the walls, that had shut them in, which had been artificially colored with a grayish hue, to make them *look old*. This artifice was accidentally discovered.

The rubbish having been removed in one place, indications of a stone staircase were observed, which was cleared, and persons went down thirty steps. At the bottom was found a small chamber, filled up with a mixture of earth and lime, and which proved to be but the first of many others like it. The prisons of Pope Pius V. were now at last discovered. Along the walls were recesses, hollowed out, so formed and arranged as to bring to mind the ancient Columbari, or dovecotes. There, it appeared, from what was observed, the condemned were buried alive, being immersed in a kind of mortar up to their shoulders. In some instances it was evident, they had died slowly and of hunger. This was inferred from the position of the bodies, which people,

in great numbers that most horrible abode : and marks were seen in the earth of movements made, in the convulsive agonies of the last moments, to free themselves from the tenacious mortar, while it was closing round their limbs. The bodies were placed in lines, opposite each other. The skulls were all gone ; but these were afterwards found in another place.\*

Of those victims of religious fury, we know nothing.

The rest of the edifice has nothing remarkable. The hall of the dreaded tribunal, over which presided the Dominican Commissary of the Holy Inquisition, was in the interior of the first fabric. This was very simple, adorned only with a colossal figure of Pius V. at the end. Above the seat of the Father Inquisitor was a crucifix, with the image of the church beneath it, trampling upon heresy ; and near by was the terrible Dominican Gusman. On the sides opened two doors. That on the right led into the room of the first Father Companion, and that on the left to the room of the second Father Companion. These two magistrates of ancient times assisted the High Procurator of the Inquisition, in discovering offences, and in converting the condemned offenders ; to which latter office they devoted themselves in the following manner. When a trial was finished, and it was important to the Holy Office, to dispose of a condemned person without giving a public spectacle, he came in, conducted by the first Father Companion, who exhorted him

\* The French legation in Rome was pleased to circulate the report, that the government of the Republic had had the bodies transported thither, to defame the Inquisition and the government of the priests. That report does not greatly honor the ingenuity of the French legation, for the bodies form large deposits, in layers, which are under walls then built over them.

to repent, to consign every thing to the hands of divine compassion, which punished him on earth to glorify, and purify him in heaven; he pressed him with insidious interrogations, in order to discover more of his offences, and to find traces of other offenders; and, finally, blessing him, if he confessed and was contrite, he pretended to send him to the second Father Companion. The guard, who awaited him on the occasion, well knowing the arrangements, conducted him towards the apartment on the other side, opened the door, and stopped short without passing it. As soon as the miserable prisoner touched the spot near the threshold, the floor gave way, and he fell through the trap-door into his tomb.

These words are still written over that door: "*Chamber of the second Father Companion.*"

This edifice, is almost entirely the work of the Pontiff Ghislieri, called by the court of Rome "Pius V.", and by Italy, (covered with blushes,) "Brother Michael of the Inquisition"—("Fra Michele dell' Inquisizione.") Rome knows him, and so do Calabria, Tuscany, Venice, Spain and Flanders. We will briefly trace this character in another place: for the Catholic world remembers the blood which the canonization of Pius V. cost, and on what foundation the papal throne is erected. . This "*Saint*," is the author of the bull (entitled "*Supra gregem dominicum*," ) which forbids a physician to visit a patient a third time, unless he has confessed, and has a certificate of the fact.

We have hitherto examined the parts of the buildings devoted to trials and tortures, following the astonished and indignant multitude; but another part remains to be visited, of a less terrible aspect, although yet formidable enough, I speak

of the *Archives*, which contain the *Martyrology of the Human Race*, and the revelation of the barbarous jurisprudence of the Inquisition.

The Inquisition was founded in 1204, by Innocent III., to combat the Albigenses, to devastate one of the most flourishing provinces of Europe, and to butcher more than half a million of men. It is nothing else than a conspiracy, established into a system, against the moral and intellectual development of mankind. With such an institution the Popes so managed, that Christianity and Mahomedanism went hand in hand in murder, as the Califs and the Popes wished to persuade the world to be converted by the same logic—fire and sword. The Mussulman said: "Believe or I will cut off your head." The Roman Court has always said: "Believe, or I will burn you!" The difference is not great.

The supreme tribunal, composed of cardinals, and presided over by the Pope, resided and still resides at the Minerva, where it has always met once a week, to judge, in the last instance, the important cases drawn up in the Holy Office by the Father Inquisitor, the acting captain of the Catholic Inquisition. The Assessor of this belongs to the high prelacy. The informers and agents, primates, priests, monks and laymen, indifferently, had, and have the name of Assistants; and they exist now. We have, among our notes, the names of many, which we may, when we please, give up to the just animadversion of the world. Certain of those assistants were honorary: others received pay; and whether honorary or paid the body was strong, especially in late years, as it turned out in Spain: for the honorary ones enjoyed many privileges. Among the honorary were numbered,



and still are numbered several princes of Rome, of the ecclesiastical state, and a number of French legitimists. Such officials of the army of the Inquisition therefore were taken from the bosom of Sanfedism. The Familiars are only the executioners, the gendarmes, of the Holy Office.

The Inquisition tries heresy, suspicion of heresy, protection given to heresy, every kind of evil doing, sacrilege and enchantment, blasphemy, both heretical and non-heretical, insults offered to the Inquisition, whether by resisting its orders, offending its members or officers, either in person, character or property, or in any thing whatever belonging to them. The jurisdiction of the Inquisition extends over Jews, Mahomedans and all infidels, of whatever kind, comprehending all who teach anything contrary to the sentiments of the Court of Rome, concerning the Sovereign and unlimited power of the Popes, their superiority to councils, even general councils, and the divine arbitrament which they may exercise over the acts of governments and princes of all countries. Aside from all this, it is sufficient, to fall under the jurisdiction of the Holy Office, that one refrains from confessing for a year, eats meats on prohibited days, or breaks any one of the precepts of the Church. The words *guilty* and *accused* are synonymous in the dictionary of the Inquisition, because the Church cannot be mistaken: therefore, whoever is accused must be guilty. And it is not only not permitted to save any person who falls under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition: but he must be accused, even though a father or a brother.

The Inquisition has supreme power over all particular Inquisitions; and, because the Inquisitions of the various provinces

are independent of each other, it terminates the differences which may arise between them. It regulates the procedure, prescribes the forms of trials at will, and they make it the judge of all graver religious and political business which relates to the Roman Court and the Papacy. Although the Inquisition is abolished in France, Spain, Germany, at Milan, Venice and in England, the primitive ordinance arrangement has not been broken on this account, but they are supplied with secret Inquisitors and with periodical information by the agents, Jesuits, Sanfedists, friars and priests of all kinds, bishops and nuncios. This, to the Church of Rome, is the *Mirror of the World*, the true Council, the grand supporter, the universal police. In the states of the Pope, is the *Censorship of Books*. This seasons the food of the intellect, for the whole Catholic world, by means of *The Index*.

The Inquisition, like the Papacy, is unchangeable. The Inquisition, which remains still the undegenerate daughter of Saint Dominic, who merited Paradise and the honor of altars, by shedding the blood of the Albigenses, has not changed its objects nor its sentence, but only its means. It has wanted, for a century, the omnipotence of the physical arm : yet it still condemns, though it dissimulates, and conceals its sentence, not, being able to kindle fires for victims, which it calls "Acts of faith," (*Autos da fe*.) It is not now able to conduct Catholics, at its will, to "a good death," except in the Roman States, where it is again in power, thanks to the Austrian, French and Spanish arms ! However, it yet dares not, immolate in public a human victim to Jesus Christ, but remains free, even now, to use the ban, the dungeon, fetters and secret torture.

We have mentioned these facts, because they assist in comprehending the importance of the *Archives of the Holy Office*. These are the registers of all the trials and sufferings incurred by men of intellect, for efforts made against every kind of tyranny, established in the name of men or in the name of God: the history of that contest which has been carried on for three centuries. We believe that the documents anterior to the sixteenth century exist somewhere else. The archives existing are very extensive indeed, and every page contains some malediction against freedom of thought, or a record of sufferings and tortures. Every one is impregnated with tears or blood.

They are divided into three parts.

The first consists of the *Library*: the most precious and unique of its kind. This contains all works relating to the Inquisition, written in the Catholic spirit; with the jurisprudence and apologies for the Holy Office, published in every part of Europe. It is thus a complete collection of works presented and registered in the Index: that is, the documents relating to all the crimes committed by Catholic intolerance against the highest displays of the human intellect. There is seen a collection of the original editions of all works written by Italian reformers, the greater part of whom died either in exile, in prison, under torture or in the flames. Numbers of those works are unknown to bibliophiliasts themselves, even the most diligent and the most devoted collectors of rare books; and are the only, or almost the only copies in existence of some of the works. We need but reflect upon the history of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to have an idea of this insatiable bitterness with which the Inquisition not only hunted and tortured the authors, but

devoted itself to destroying the books, even to buying up whole editions and committing them to the flames, at the same time notifying every person possessing a copy to resign it immediately. The typographic art, although in the former half of the sixteenth century, was in a most flourishing state, must have been destroyed by the laws of Paul IV. and Pius V. and the Council of Trent. Consequently, in the second half of that century the great printing offices disappeared, and the printers either failed or ceased their labors and went into exile. The Giunti of Florence were reduced to printing breviaries. That art remained nowhere unless at Venice, where the learned Monsignor della Casa published the first Index, after the cruel Orfano had received many victims, at the command of the Father Inquisitor, the Venitian Signori having chosen to substitute water for fire against the remains of the Italian spirit.

In that library abound the codices and manuscripts collected by the officers of the Censorship. When an author presents a work, to obtain permission to print it, it is the custom of the Holy Congregation of the Index, if it thinks it proper to deny the permission, to retain the manuscript, that it may not be published in other countries. We remember to have observed a geography of the Roman States, by a certain Cavalier Fontana, a work which did not touch on any point of religion: but as it revealed by statistical data, things not proving the infallible goodness of the government, it was sequestered.

This is a library of heresy and the more admirable, because it comprehends the great enterprizes of intelligence, the greatest combats for the truth, the most holy aspirations; and, as a thinking mind could not act without falling into heresy, it is the

library of liberty, hidden and sealed with every kind of anathema and with blood. If a man should enter here and for an instant remove the seals laid on the human mind, war would ensue, and it would not again be possible to man to restore them.

The first section contains the strongest exhibitions of the efforts of the intellect, panting to break the impediments which prevent the improvement of human nature; the second registers the penalties imposed upon its champions, and narrates the martyrdom of modern Prometheuses. There stand, in beautiful order, the processes proposed and carried through by Ghislieri, as Inquisitor and as Pope—as “Brother Michele” and as “Pius V.” who said that clemency consisted in punishing heretics with the greatest severity, and instituted the custom of blessing medals, by washing them in Flemish blood. The inexorable disciple of Paul IV., he adopted the dogmatical decrees of the Synod of Trent, to give activity to the Inquisition; and the disciplinary decrees, to supercede and absorb the jurisdiction of every lay government. Then, as now, the fear of punishment proved the best of remedies: torture, not the word of Christ, was the Roman Gospel. The princes seconded the iron-will of Ghislieri, both for a show of religion, for the fear of ecclesiastical intrigues, and from dread of the event in Germany and France. Brother Michael, it is true, was received by the Couraschi with a volley of stones, and the Venitian Signori drove him out of Bergamo, but, nevertheless, he knew how to substitute in Venice, the canal of Orfano for faggots to accomplish the death of Giuglio Ghirlanda, Antonio Ricetto, Francesco Sega, the priest Spinola and the friar Lupetino. He procured the hunting out of the Protestants of Locarno: a work due in a great measure to the small

cantons by which the flourishing town of Locarno lost her commerce. Ghislieri destroyed the reformed church of Lucca, co-operated in the slaughter of the poor Waldenses in Calabria, burned Giulio Zanetti, Aenio Paleario and Pietro Carnesecchi. The last named would never bow his head, but went gravely and serenely to the stake, as if to victory, with the Sanbenito on his neck. These tragedies terrified the whole peninsula. A person accused of heresy died under the torture in Faenza; and the city rose in insurrection, assaulted the houses of the Inquisition, and killed a priest they found there.

There were tumults in Mantua, Tuscany and Naples. The Index of Caraffa was put into vigorous execution; all the books issuing from certain offices which were held in fear were prohibited, to whatever subject they related; the Inquisitors and their agents, like dogs long tied up, sprang into the printing-offices and bookstores, carrying away books without paying for them, and ruining the arts and trade. They foolishly wished to destroy thinking. There were fugitives from Sienna, Lucca, Pisa, Florence and all parts. The Italians carried their industry and wealth to France, Germany and Switzerland. Rome seemed like a great desert. The study halls of Pisa were empty; several students were imprisoned on suspicion; and their companions soon abandoned the inhospitable country. Many persons lost their senses from fear; five Siennese women were given over to the devil as mad; and, instead of the hospital, they were put into the flames.

We mention these facts summarily, that the terrible importance of the trials of Pius V. may be understood, (which are included in many of the documents of the reign of Paul IV.)

and many of those relating to the war in Flanders and the slaughter of the Huguenots. Death prevented Ghislieri from publicly pronouncing his blessing on the festival of St. Bartholomew.

The second section (of the library of the Inquisition) contains summary records of all the trials which have been held and decided by the supreme tribunal of the Minerva; all the resolutions by the Holy Office of cases of conscience, and all the objects taken from prisoners and delinquents: such as letters, books, manuscripts, pictures, ornaments, amulets, &c., a curious and very strange collection.

The third part (of the library,) formed under the chancery, is the most important in our times, and reveals the vast organization of the Inquisition, and what kind of life and how much life it still possesses. Here, more than any where else, politics and religion take each other by the hand, and are confounded in one; here is perceived the usefulness of confession and of the concentrated absolutism in the church; here politics control religious heresy, and the assiduous care of the priest is seen, who wishes to maintain himself as a prince; here are all the trials, all the revelations, all the design, all the secret intrigue of modern times.

The Roman Church, after the German Reformation, endeavored to purify ecclesiastical practices; and if they did not succeed in this, it was owing to the essential defects of the internal constitution. To this department of the Inquisition belongs the "*Summary of Solicitations*," a record, of women who had been solicited to criminality by their own confessors in the pontifical state; and the summary is not brief.

Although several book-cases were found empty, enough remained, to allow us to comprehend the modern secret organization of the Holy Office, and to discover the names of the officers and familiars of the tribunal. The names of these are in a register, province by province. Generally speaking all the prelates in mission, all the provincials and generals of the regular clergy, all the bishops, arch-bishops and cardinals, not only of the pontifical state, but of christendom, all Sanfedists and exaggerated catholics, notable for rank and ambition, or genius and wealth, or for influence on public opinion and governments. Then the *Repertories of Correspondence* are numerous and exceedingly large. There is a Repertory of the correspondence of bishops, cardinals and prelates, belonging to the pontifical state, which gives to the Inquisitors information on religion, as well as politics; also that of the bishops, cardinals, prelates, priests and friars of the Catholic world; and that of the Apostolic Nuncios. From those correspondences elaborate notes had been compiled and placed in orderly arrangement, forming the "*Catalogus Indicationum*," which contains the names of all political and religious heretics from 1815 till 1847, tracing their moral portraits, recording their writings and actions, and treating of their sects, societies, ornaments, ramifications, agents and friends.

Such is the immense family of the Inquisition: touching every place, having its eye upon everything, from the confessional of the humble female, to the palace of great men and the royal residence of princes, it examines everything, studies and records everything. Liberty, in its estimation, is not only heresy, but reason itself is a kind of heresy; therefore the world is heretical, and therefore the Inquisition believes it to be its duty to observe



everything, to comprehend, in its secret jurisdiction, the actions and thoughts of all men, and secretly utters its anathemas even against the governments which have lent them a musket. To it nothing is sacred, nothing respected: neither the sanctity of the domestic hearth, nor the religion of the oath sworn to governments, nor the silence of the confessional. All is scandalous treachery in those correspondences. There I found letters from Piedmontese bishops, who openly reasoned about rebelling against the government of Charles Albert, because he did not hold to the maxims of Count Solaro della Margherita. Elsewhere they lay before your eyes the relations made to a confessor, which bear on their face the violated words: "*Under secrecy*," which answer in the diplomatic vocabulary, to "*Confidential*." Numbers of those relations came from abroad, and were collected by nunios. The timorous consciences of Catholics may be encouraged, for the sacrament of confession is good, and really something. And if the governments, if the multitudes knew to what offices the ambassadors of the court of Rome lend themselves, they would soon renew the English law. Any one who can write, might cover with infamy, by a single line, many illustrious men of France, Switzerland and Germany. Let us not do it, although we have the documents in our hands; let us not do it now from the vain stimulus of vengeance: but, if ever necessary to the cause of the people, it may then be done.

This then is the true whispering gallery, of the police. It is the seat of the Cardinal Secretary of State, and the repertory of his letters; to him recurrence is had for information concerning all persons; for hints about men and things, or books to be allowed to be introduced into the state, &c. &c.

The government of the Republic, being at war in defence of the national honor and the standard of the people, was not able to take possession of those documents; but an examination was allowed to a few persons. The Inquisition recovered the archives untouched, and now is revenging itself. But we have more solemn and obvious documents to prove the iniquity of the priests' government, in the disdain and the misery of the Roman people, in the hatred of all Italy, in the Gospel which they have torn in pieces, in the offended conscience of the human race. And, notwithstanding the Inquisition, Popery is dead, and forever. What remains of it is a disgusting carcass, which encumbers our highway. (The preceding description is signed :

DE BONI.)

Many pages have been devoted to the Roman Inquisition; and the reader will scarcely fail to appreciate the reason. That building, after three hundred years of the closest secrecy, was for a short time exposed to the light of the sun and the view of the world. Many men of different nations have visited it, and united in exclamations of horror at what they saw. Several of the descriptions written by some of these we have collected, and we have here heard of several more, in the hands of American visitors, which have never yet been brought before the world. What have made the strongest impressions on our own feelings, however, are the verbal narratives of a number of Italians, who have fled to the United States since the fall of the Republic, and who, although they have passed through scenes of danger and suffering since they visited the Inquisition, forget everything else when speaking of what they saw within its walls.

From different quarters, also, evidence is afforded, to prove

that the effects upon the minds of all the people were deep and indelible. "The people roared with madness," was the remark of a priest, though himself still but half enlightened in the truth, when describing the entrance of the populace whom he accompanied into the "Holy Office." "The Roman women" said another Italian, "have many of them heretofore been strong advocates of the priests: but, these ecclesiastics need never again expect to find them partizans—they have seen the Inquisition." A foreign gentleman, who, like some other visitors of that institution while open, took notes of all he saw, on the spot, expressed a wish to have it published, for the purpose of acquainting incredulous Americans with the real nature and practices of Popery, adding, that, if he should bring the facts to light and return to Italy, he should expect to be consigned to the same dungeons, by the old jailors, who have been restored by the valor of the French Republican arms!

The exploits which we have yet to record, performed during the siege of Rome, may appear unaccountable, unless we bear in mind the power of the impulses acting upon the minds of the Romans, and especially the deadly antipathy to the priests, the Pope and their heartless advocates, excited in every mind by the disclosures so recently made, by the speechless witnesses in the awful edifice just described.

Among the various reflections which might be made, by one reading the preceding pages, a few only will be here alluded to. The total ignorance of all the numerous remains of human bodies in the Inquisition confirms the innumerable reports, long in circulation in different parts of Italy, of the mysterious disappearance of persons of different classes and ages, of whom no

trace has ever after been found. As such cases have occurred in our own country, under peculiar circumstances, the suspicion has been excited that like effects might point at like causes on both sides of the Atlantic. The intimate co-operation sometimes carried on, by political and diplomatic personages and the emissaries of the Inquisition, for the accomplishment of nefarious purposes, as proved by the documents in the library of the Holy Office, may recall certain proceedings in our own country, within the lifetime of some readers. With all the above details in view, a solemn remark of Lafayette must come to mind with double force.

Last of all we may reasonably expect all persons, claiming to possess the spirit of Americans, to come out as the open and unqualified enemies of the Inquisition: for the time has now arrived, when there remains not a single pretext or subterfuge, to explain away, excuse, apologize or tolerate for an instant any practice or principle connected with an institution so utterly opposed to every human right and enjoyment, and so abhorrent to every feeling of humanity. No apology now remains, for the toleration in America of any semblance of such an infernal system; and the revelations now made to the world, by the valor of the Republicans of Rome, ought to awaken our countrymen at least, from their honest but dangerous credulity, and induce them to decree that all convents and similar institutions should be forever denied that seclusion from the eye of public justice, which they have so abused in other countries and for many ages.

To the Romans belongs the high honor of having explained the truth on a subject before mysterious, but of paramount importance to all mankind.

## CHAPTER XIII.

ARRIVAL of the French expedition at Cività Vecchia.—False pretences of the Commander.—Landing allowed.—Confidence betrayed.—The Romans decide on resistance.

When the expedition was supposed to be designed for Rome, Colonel Frapolli, the Minister Extraordinary of the Roman Republic in Paris, protested against it; and, after the document had been received with ridicule by the Assembly, Odillon Barrot and his associates laid it on the table without notice.

On the 24th of April the vanguard of the French division was in sight of Cività Vecchia. It was at first believed to be the Lombard corps, who had embarked at Sestri, and joined a French steam vessel with 800 volunteers, enrolled at Marseilles for the service of the Roman Republic. But a steamer, having gone out to meet her, observed certain signals exchanged with the French steamer Nerval, which had been for some time at anchor at Cività Vecchia, the mistake was soon discovered. At a quarter past ten in the morning, a frigate entered and landed several officers, with an adjutant of Gen. Oudinot.

He visited the Preside of Cività Vecchia, and informed him, that the object of the expedition was, to guard the physical and moral interests of the Roman people, that they would doubtless sympathize with the French troops, who had arrived opportunely

with the standard of friendship, brotherhood and honor. He added, that the ships would not lie exposed out of the port, but must immediately enter; and that, if a single shot were fired, a fine of a million francs would be laid on the town.

All that the Preside of the little town of Cività Vecchia could do, in so pressing a case, was, to reply that he would send to Rome for orders, and in the meantime make provision for the accommodation of the expedition. The Chamber of Commerce also held a session, and agreed to receive in a friendly manner the French flag, as sent to aid in protecting Roman liberty. They permitted the landing, and opposed those who wished to prevent it. It appears most evident, that all this was done in honest, though imprudent confidence in French honor. It has been appealed to, as evidence that the people of the Roman states were favorably inclined to the Pope's authority: but it proves the very contrary, because the French professed to be the friends of the people, and they were Republicans, until they read Oudinot's written declaration; and then they changed and became his decided opponents. He said, in his despatch to the Preside, Manucci:

"The French government, wishing to put an end to the situation in which the Roman people have lain groaning for several months, and wishing also to facilitate the establishment of an order of things very different from the anarchy of these latter times, have resolved to send to Cività Vecchia a body of troops," &c. &c.

The following expressions also they read with equal indignation, in the proclamation addressed by the French general to the Roman people.

“The French government have resolved to send an armed corps into your territory, not to defend the actual government, which they have never recognized, but to avert from your country immense evils,” &c. And again: “France has thought that, in virtue of her position, she was more specially called to interfere, in order to facilitate the establishment of a state of things, equally opposed to the abuses not wholly destroyed by the too great condescension of Pius IX. and the anarchy of these latter times.”

We may perhaps now wonder at the mistake made by many of the Romans, in believing the French their friends; and some Americans, ill-informed, may imagine there was some ground for believing that the latter were inclined to the restoration of the Pope, which was the real design of the French: but we should recall the state of things then existing, and remember that France had not yet openly broken her word and violated her avowed fundamental principles, and that her government was still speaking one day in one sense, and the next in another. While the above declarations were made by her officers at Cività Vecchia, the following was avowed with equal solemnity: “The French government, animated by a spirit of love and liberty, declares that it will respect the wish of the Roman people, and comes among them as a friend, with the sole design of maintaining its legitimate influence among nations. It is decided also never to impose on the people a government not desired by it.”

The French officer, in his last declaration to the people, promised to continue in their offices the magistrates of the city, and not to burthen the people with the necessary expenses of the

army. The municipal authorities then agreed with the French officers to send, the next day, a deputation on board the general's ship, to present to him the compliance of the whole city. But two expresses were soon received from the Roman government, the first of which informed the authorities that their decision would be transmitted in two hours. The other was a despatch, signed by the Triumvir Mazzini and the minister of war, Avezzana, ordering that resistance should be made, to prevent a landing, at any cost.

On the 25th, the Committee of the Municipality went on board Oudinot's vessel, according to agreement; and, in accordance with the arrangements made by them, a few hours after, the landing of the French was commenced. Three steamboats and three gabarres were employed in this operation; and the troops were received in a friendly manner by the people, who joined with them in raising the Italian and French flags together in the square, in sign of fraternal union. During the debarkation, a battalion of Lombards arrived in the steamer Colombo, on their way to Rome; and, after a delay of several hours, under the false promises of the French, they were obliged to debark at Fiumicino, a little port which not long afterwards was the scene of the modern Don Quixotes, the Spanish expedition against the Roman Republic.

The arrival of the French at Cività Vecchia produced the highest excitement in Rome. The Triumvirate and the Assembly declared themselves in permanent session; the people declared their intention to support the principles and the government of their choice. Twenty thousand men, including both National Guards and troops of the line, were ready at a moment's warn-



ing; and union, harmony, and ready obedience to the government were every where expressed.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Rusconi, had immediately set off for Cività Vecchia, to ascertain the state of things upon the spot. There he found the public square occupied by French troops, the Roman garrison disarmed and made prisoners, and the citizens overwhelmed with consternation and anger. The French general informed him, that his intention was to be in Rome in a few days, not in a spirit of conquest, but to learn on the spot the wishes of the people; and this intention he communicated to the government by an adjutant, who returned to the capital the next day, in company with the Minister Rusconi. He was presented to the Triumvirate, who informed him, that it was the will of the people to oppose force by force: but he appeared to be quite incredulous of this; and with a vanity and contempt wholly inexcusable under any circumstances, said:

*“The Romans do not fight.”*

These words were soon made known to the people, and excited them in a still higher degree, so that the name of Frenchman was execrated throughout the city.

The Assembly met, and were called to pronounce their will.

“The Assembly, considering the communications received, has determined to save the Republic, and to repel force by force.” This was followed by a decree of the Triumvirate, which said: “We will resist, because independence cannot be lost, even for a day, without suicide.”

And the whole country speedily showed the same spirit: for every province in the Roman States and almost every village, sent in acts of adhesion to the Republic.

## CHAPTER XIV.

**BIOGRAPHICAL Sketch of General Avezzana.—Spirit of the people.—Preparations for defence.**

**General** Giuseppe Avezzana performed so influential a part in the defence of Rome, that a longer history of his life than we can here give would be highly appropriate.

He was born in Piedmont near the beginning of this century, of a very respectable family. His leading part in the Italian revolution of 1821 compelled him to leave his country, and he fought for liberty in Spain and Mexico. He afterwards became a resident and a citizen of the United States, where the news of the great movement of 1848 found him in the midst of a large and happy family. Laying aside every consideration of private interest and domestic affection, he hastened to the assistance of his country; and the fame of his exploits in Mexico soon procured him the post of General of the National Guard of Genoa; and the battle of Novara having just led to a new treaty between Piedmont and Austria, as humiliating to the Italians as the armistice of Milan consented to by Charles Albert in 1848, and Genoa being one of the cities most injured by that treaty, the democratic party, with Avezzana at its head, protested, and took measures to proclaim a Republic. His plan was to divide the



*Giuseppe Averzana*



forces, enter the duchy of Modena, attack the Austrians in flank, encourage the Italians, and proclaim a great and stable Italian Republic, founding a free state of twenty-five millions, now, to their misfortune and against their will, divided into seven separate states. This plan was well received. The Genoese fought bravely three days, but were overcome; and Avezzana embarked, amidst the tears and acclamations of the people, to serve the cause of Italy in Rome.

The patriots welcomed him, and exhorted the Triumvirate to put him in power; and he was appointed Minister of War and General-in-Chief. His skill and vigor and his harangues to the militia and regular troops infused new energy into the Republicans. Three days after his appointment the French landed at Civit  Vecchia, and war was seen to be inevitable. But the Pope's partizans continued to throw doubts into many minds, which prevented the adoption of some important measures. The regular military corps of the Republic were few, and dispersed in the provinces: but they were promptly increased and better posted; and one of the first measures of Avezzana was to call Garibaldi from Rieti to Rome, and to supply his brave soldiers with muskets, they having been generally armed only with lances.

The following pages must furnish all the further particulars relating to Avezzana which the size of the present work will permit to be laid before the reader. His plan for the defence of Rome might have prolonged the defence until August, when the French would have been driven away by the malaria. A strong fortress erected on the site of the Villa Corsini would have required one regular siege, and the city a second.

This plan was not carried into effect, because the two offices hitherto exercised by General Avezzana were soon after separated, and, although he retained that of Secretary of War, he went to Ancona on the 28th of May, at the request of the Triumvirate, to arrange for the defence of that city, then threatened by the Austrians, and the arrangements begun to effect those plans were not completed.

A general spirit of patriotism prevailed in all the towns ; and the people's clubs which they contained, protested against the French invasion, and sent copies of their protests to General Oudinot. That officer, with his customary insincerity, made different answers from time to time, as suited his covert intentions.

"And now," says a spectator, "the exertions made by the friends of the Pope were redoubled, to excite fears and discouragement, to sow suspicions and jealousies, and to create mutual distrust among the people and their friends. By intrigues, directed no doubt from Gaëta, rumors were set afloat, that the National Guards would not fight ; while attempts were made to revive old disputes between influential persons and families, and malefactors were sent to perpetrate crimes, in order to cast the responsibility on the Republicans. But all these had but little effect. Good order prevailed, and such a state of tranquillity continued through the succeeding scenes of trial, as could not have been reasonably expected, in any place in similar circumstances, however well provided for defence, and however long accustomed to its government. Of this we have abundant and most unquestionable evidence ; and the fact ought to have its due weight on every intelligent mind."

One of the first objects of interest to the government was, to

provide for the security of foreigners in the city ; and in this General Avezzana displayed his characteristic good feelings and good sense. The French especially were placed under the safeguard of the laws. Fortunately we have witnesses in a considerable number of our own countrymen and countrywomen, who were in Rome at that interesting period. The National Guard were assembled in the Piazza dei Santi Apostoli, almost to a man, and took the oath never to abandon the country, and to defend the government of the Republic, in the presence of the representatives of the people. They were addressed by Sterbini, who put to them this question :

“ Will you suffer any stranger, under any banner, whatever, to come and restore the affairs of Rome to their ancient footing, and to load your necks again with the papal yoke ? ” “ No ! ” replied the Guards, with a loud voice. “ Will you defend with all your power the liberty you have gained ? ” “ Yes ! ” was the answer given, with enthusiasm, to this question.

Active preparations were now made on all sides for defence. In each of the fourteen Rioni (or wards) of the city, the heads of the people and the members of the Assembly carefully attended to the execution of orders of the government, and to the good of the public. The municipality had already procured abundant supplies of grain, meat and all kinds of food for the city ; hospitals were prepared for the wounded men ; and every thing else was made ready which circumstances rendered necessary. The Triumvirate requested the people to illuminate their houses, during the night ; and, so readily and universally was this done, that it would alone have proved that they had the love of the inhabitants. Notice was given, that the beat of drums would

announce the beginning of battle, and the ringing of the bells of the Capitol the assaulting of the city.

The Roman army amounted to fourteen or fifteen thousand men. The Lombard division, of eight thousand strong, was ready to embark, but was prevented only by French vessels and the French occupying Cività Vecchia. There was a nucleus of a foreign legion at Marseilles paid by the Italians, of eight hundred men. At the same place were five or six thousand muskets purchased by the same, which were detained by the French government. Four thousand more muskets were seized by them at Cività Vecchia. Other assistance was expected from Switzerland and Corsica; so that by the end of April, it had been expected that the Republican forces would amount to twenty-nine or thirty thousand men. The French government and officers, however, disappointed their hopes.

The health officers, the ambulanze and the Committee of Ladies for the charge of the hospitals, in their active and devoted labors, in the care of the wounded, presented a spectacle of humanity and noble disinterestedness worthy of the occasion, and such as, if in any rare case it has ever been equalled, can never be excelled. The Committee of Ladies was headed by the Princess Christina Triulzio Belgioioso; and, through the remaining days of the contest, displayed a zeal and self-denial, which excited universal admiration. Very different duties did they undertake from those, so much vaunted of, when the washing of the feet of a few poor persons is annually performed in public by some who pretend, by such ostentatious acts, to sustain their claim to be imitators of Jesus Christ. The office of nurses was faithfully performed by the Roman ladies through the seige,



in the various hospitals, and alike to rich and poor Italians and Frenchmen. Yet the Pope, in his letters to his clergy, had the heart and the manners to apply to these devoted females of his capital, the most opprobrious term which language can give to the very worst of the sex, and which, although it has been in the mouth of Pius IX., an American Protestant writer, however humble, would disdain to defile his pen with its repetition, even if the purity of American Protestant society would excuse him for the offence.

A plan of the attack on the city was afterwards found in the pocket of a French colonel, who lay dead on the field. From this it appeared, that it was intended to enter the city by the gates Angelica and Cavalleggieri, when the troops were to meet and halt in the square, and from that point proceed through the streets of the city, and attack with the bayonet every quarter where they might find resistance.

It appears also, that the French general intended to secure to himself and his army the exclusive honor of the victory : but, although they and the Neapolitans were denied such a privilege, they were allowed to partake, in nearly equal terms, of defeat and rout, by far inferior force.

The Second Brigade, under Colonel Masi, was composed of two battalions of Civic Guard Mobiles, and the first light regiment, and occupied the wall between the gates Cavalleggieri and Angelica. The Third Brigade, under Colonel Savini, consisted of the first and second regiments of mounted dragoons, and formed the reserve, in the Piazza Navona. The Fourth Brigade, under Colonel Galetti, contained two regiments of the line and was also in reserve, at the Chiesa Nuova and the Piazza

Cesarini, with all the cannon not in position. The corps of Carabinieri, commanded by General Galetti, and the battalion of Lombards, under Major Manara, formed in corps, stood ready to march wherever it might be wanted.

The people were eager for battle; and the *Transtevere*, (the other side of the Tiber,) offered an imposing spectacle. People of every class, age and sex presented themselves armed with iron instruments or stones, ready to attack the enemy, wherever they might appear; the bastions were filled with citizens in arms; and several thousands of pikes were distributed to those who had no muskets.

A small skirmish took place on the 29th of April, between a vanguard of the French and the Roman advanced posts, which gave the first signal of alarm; and three of the enemy's cavalry were left dead on the field, with a Roman soldier, while the first Frenchman was taken prisoner. Gen. Avezzana made arrangements for a large portion of the regular forces to act outside of the walls, under Gen. Garibaldi. Within, numerous strong barricades were thrown up near the gates and along the principal streets, especially on the right bank of the Tiber.

The first brigade under Garibaldi without the city consisted of the First Italian Legion, the Battalion of the University, that of *Reduci*, the Exile Legion and a detachment of *Finanzieri Mobilizzati*. These troops were posted between the gates San Pancrazio and Portese. This whole force amounted to about two thousand three hundred men.

## CHAPTER XV.

**APPROACH of the French to Rome.—Feelings of the people.—Arrangements for resistance.—Garibaldi meets and fights them all day.—Retreat of the French.—Incidents.—Letter from an American gentleman in Rome, describing scenes in the city.**

On the morning of May 30th, the telegraph gave notice of the enemy's approach, and at nine o'clock reported them within five miles of Rome. Gen. Avezzana sent a captain of his staff to the top of the cupola of St. Paul's, to remain until the opening of the fire, to give notice of their numbers and movements. The French had two squadrons of cavalry and twelve field pieces; and their force, in two divisions, advanced against the gates: in force about nine thousand men. Proceeding for Villa Pamfili, they occupied two houses, from which they commenced an active fire of musketry and artillery. General Garibaldi then moved to attack them in flank, from the gate of San Pancrazio, with his whole detachment, when an obstinate combat ensued, in which the bayonet was often used in the charge, and corps fought corps for full two hours. The artillery on the walls, under Colonel Calandrelli, did much service. The French fought well. Colonel Galetti reinforced Garibaldi with his reserve.

The French attacked the gates San Pancrazio, Cavalleggeri,

Vatican, and the walls with resolution, and were opposed with enthusiasm and perseverance. Their cannon in several instances penetrated the walls, which were built in early times, long before the use of gunpowder, and ill able to resist the heavy shot of a battering train. The soldiers sometimes came near the walls: but were unable to stand the fire of the Republicans. The battle lasted till 4 P. M., when the French made a precipitate retreat, leaving nearly 500 prisoners.

So unexpected a result as the repulse of such a body of chosen French troops, under the walls of a city which had been represented as in general favorable to the Pope, and which was defended only by a small force, hastily collected, ill armed and chiefly consisting of raw troops, astonished America as well as Europe: but, if all the facts had been known, the surprise of all would only have been increased. The French Chasseurs had come armed with an improved musket, which would do execution at three times the distance of those in the hands of the Romans. On that day, as well as afterwards, the latter finding they suffered severely, without the power to reach the enemy with their shot, charged with the bayonet, and with the greatest bravery and success.

Several foreign officers, who viewed the battle from a commanding elevation, expressed their admiration at the courage, skill and enthusiasm with which the Romans met and drove back the invaders. The French had made their arrangements to spend that night in Rome: but they were unable even to stop in the neighborhood of the city; and began their retreat towards Cività Vecchia. Garibaldi followed them, with a small force. The orders at first were to stop eight or ten miles dis-

tant ; but they were not allowed to halt until they had gone about twelve miles, to Castel Guido ; and then, while they were making preparations for the night, Garibaldi encamped in their presence, without molestation. He received, and sent on to Rome, a French surgeon, at the request of Oudinot, to take care of the wounded prisoners.

General Garibaldi had intended to pursue and harass the enemy as far and as long as possible : but he was shortly recalled to the city, by a peremptory order of the government, and was compelled to return.

In the meantime, the French prisoners were escorted into Rome, and those of the patriots who accompanied them were received with acclamations. The arms taken from the French were soon placed in more worthy hands. One of the victors, now in exile in America, marched into Porta San Pancrazio with three French muskets on his shoulder, which he had taken from as many of the enemy, captured by himself. One of the sons of Cicerouacchio, who offered to purchase French muskets, paid the gallant subaltern for those he brought, and immediately gave them to three patriotic men who stood by, unarmed, eager to join their fellow citizens in fighting against their oppressors.

“And here I wish to record it, for the information of the whole world,” says a spectator, “that it was not a band of foreigners who fought for Rome, but almost all of them were Italians, and most of them belonged to the Roman States. In fact, the Roman army was then composed of ten regiments of infantry and two of cavalry, wholly from the Roman States ; with a corps of eight hundred Lombards, and another of three hundred Lombards, Tuscans and Neapolitans ; and the Foreign Legion,

containing two hundred and fifty men. The Legion of Garibaldi, properly so called, did not exceed three hundred men, and had accompanied him from Tuscany, entering the Roman States in November, 1848. It has been rapidly increased, as he passed through the cities of Romagna, La Marca and Umbria. All together, the Roman army did not exceed sixteen thousand and fifty men. Here then is the whole amount of that 'band of foreigners, who, it has been asserted, oppressed a city of 150,000 inhabitants! These are the troops to whom a foreign government, while sending thousands of foreign troops against Rome, in combination with other foreign governments and foreign nations, has the audacity to call 'intruding strangers.' The facts respecting the principal officers of the Roman government give a corresponding aspect with that presented by the army; and the particulars are before us, collected from authentic sources: but we are not able to insert them.

The following account, written by an American gentleman then in Rome, will give an interesting idea of what was done in the city during that important day. It is an extract from a private letter. The writer, who had been travelling for his health for several years, and has since died, was a gentleman of education, taste and much excellence of character, personally known and much lamented by the author:

"Rome, May 3d, 1849.

"By noon of the day, (April 30th,) the reports of cannon began to be heard; and these continued for two or three hours, and indeed more or less during the whole afternoon. The French arrived in the forenoon; and being opposed on their march upon the city, attempted to force their way. They were

coming amicably, as said their proclamations: but fighting occurred at three several points, which they attacked.

"They seem to have retired toward Cività Vecchia: whether feeling that they have gone too far, in this most unjust invasion, or to wait for reinforcements of their own, or until the Neapolitan army, which is said to be on the march, and expected here to-day, can join them, I know not. At all events, this attempt thus far has failed; and the Romans have shown themselves worthy of freedom. Until the last moment, I felt doubtful whether there would be any defence: but I think now there is no doubt as to the feeling actuating the whole people: a determination to fight to the last to repel unjust invasion; and an almost equally strong one, not to return under the hated sway of the priests. This feeling is shared by a large body who are Republicans, but who are indignant at this unjustifiable step on the part of the French nation. And what a foul blot upon France will this step leave!

"The spirit of the people is excellent. One of the first intimations I had that there was really severe work going on, though I had heard the cannonading, was seeing a wounded man brought to a house nearly opposite. (Having an attack of indisposition, I was, much to my regret, confined at home.) In passing a post of the Civic Guard just below me, he shouted '*Viva la Repubblica Romana!*' which was heartily responded to by all the guard and the persons present.

"The Civic Guard, immediately upon the commencement of the affair, turned out, established posts and strong patrols, and took every measure to ensure internal order and security. The houses are brilliantly illuminated every night, as a means of assisting to preserve order, by preventing robbers or pilferers moving about unseen. People move about the streets freely, as usual. There is no commotion, nor appearance of panic, nor is

there any undue vamping or enthusiasm: but all seem to have *made up their minds*.

"At a barricade, erected a few paces from my house, numbers of women, from the houses adjacent, helped the men, bringing earth in baskets, and even handling the pick; and in a patrol of civic guardsmen, armed with pikes, I have seen well-dressed, respectable ladylike-looking women, pouch on side and pike on shoulder, taking their share of the duty.

"I am at the corner of the Corso and the Via Laurina, (the second street from the Piazza di Spagna, and near the Porta del Popolo,) conveniently placed, where I can see all the arrangements for the defence, in case the enemy attempt this gate.

"The number of killed on the day of the fighting was from twelve to twenty; and about one hundred and twenty wounded are in the hospitals. Amongst these are several of the French themselves, whom the Romans sent out to bring in, and who are treated with the same kind care and attention as their own people. The prisoners are treated very kindly. The hospitals are abundantly supplied with nurses and attendants, through the voluntary services of *the Roman women*."

"P. S.—May 7th.—The French have not returned, having taken up their position again at Civit  Vecchia. No communication has been had between them and the government, except in relation to the exchange of their prisoners, officially stated at, five hundred and sixty, for a Roman battalion, detained by them at Civit  Vecchia, at their landing. On the other side, however, we have the Neapolitans, who have made their appearance at, and this side of Albano, about twelve miles from the city. Of course we have been, for the last few days, in constant suspense, expecting daily a battle, and an attack upon the city. Every preparation is made, both at the walls and at the gates, and in



the interior of the city, for a desperate defence; and thus the rulers and the people seem to be of one mind. I think, were the Neapolitans to effect an entrance, into the city, (which I much doubt,) every man, and woman also, would rise to oppose them.

“Of course, the aspect of things in the city partakes much of the warlike; and the sensations and ideas produced in those of us who have been accustomed to see Rome in a different light, now that it is a city threatened with hostile attack and siege, present a singular contrast to that usually existing. The city is however remarkably tranquil, and the demeanor of the people highly creditable. There is nothing either like panic or commotion. The authorities and the Civic Guard are vigilant, and no excesses are committed. The streets seem as safe as ever; and people, men and women, move freely about in them, both in the day and the evening. In truth a spirit is exhibited, that no one had given the Romans credit for. The cannon of the French did more toward strengthening the cause of Republicans, even the ultra ones, than any thing else that could have occurred: for it roused among the people the proud feelings of resistance to unjust invasion, and those of opposition to any return to the despotic power of the priests.”

## CHAPTER XVI.

CHAGRIN of Oudinot.—Noble treatment of the French prisoners, by the Roman government and people.—Oudinot's false report to his government.—Letter of Louis Buonaparte.—Austrians resisted at Bologna.—Enthusiasm of the people of the country.

His feelings of Oudinot may be imagined, when, after his troops had fled several miles in disorder and dismay, he gave his first order to bivouac, and afterwards his second to continue the march to Castel di Guido, about seven miles further. He must have had sad reflections to make, on his disappointment, and the results of the ten hours' battle, which had left him a fugitive from a handful of raw Roman troops, with a triumphant, though far inferior corps of Romans, close on his heels. If Garibaldi's urgent solicitations had been complied with, in which he was seconded by many other experienced officers, the invaders would have been hotly pursued, as the reserved carabiniers, dragoons and troops of the line in the city were all fresh: but Mazzini interposed, to save the lives of the retreating French, who he hoped would now be convinced of their mistakes, which some of them might have honestly made, in believing that the Republicans were a feeble minority, and that the soldiers and citizens would "not fight."

But let us enter the city, and see how the three hundred French prisoners were treated. On the 8th of May the Triumvirate authorized the advocate Campagnoni, with an interpreter, to visit and converse with the prisoners; and a long affidavit was afterwards published, giving the statements made by the officers respecting the false impressions with which the French soldiers had come against Rome. They expressed an entire conviction, that they had been deceived by their leaders; and added, that they had not heard a word uttered against the Republic, nor in favor of the Pope: but much of the contrary. They all cried out: "There has been treachery; the Romans are brave, and deserve a Republic!" This affidavit is contained in the volume entitled "*Documenti della Guerra Santa, &c.*"

And the following decree of the government, with the brief accompanying remarks, will be the best eulogium that could be asked, respecting the treatment of the French prisoners when about to be released.

#### DISMISSAL OF FOREIGN SOLDIERS.

Such conduct in the field and after the victory as we have been called to review in these last pages, may well be regarded by an American reader with peculiar gratitude: for truly our Roman brethren have shed new and bright honor upon our principles and the memory of our ancestors, who founded the institutions under which we were born. And whoever undertakes to write the events of those days must feel a lively sense of personal obligation to the men who, in so trying circumstances, so unexpectedly offered an opportunity to ennoble his page and his pen with the record of deeds unprecedented in history, and dou-

bly resplendent in contrast with the dark and disgraceful shadows on the opposite side of the picture.

To excuse his disgrace, General Oudinot wrote to Paris, that his defeat at Rome was the effect of treachery—how, has not been explained, even by M. Barrot, who made that charge in the French Chamber. He added a warm eulogy on the Pope, which was about as well merited. “How times change!” exclaims a Roman patriot: “To see the ambassadors of the grand European revolution, the descendants of those who took Avignon from the Apostolic see, who led Pius VI. to Valentia to die, and needed Robespierre to decree the existence and worship of the Supreme Being, having nothing now in view, according to their own expressions, but the greatness of the head of the Catholic Church, his glory and his temporal possessions!” \* \* “We see, in short, the generals of the Republican army of France fall at the feet of the priests, and on their knees beg the favor of a blessed crown. If these scenes had not occurred in our own day, I verily believe my readers would accuse me of falsehood.”

In the meantime the Austrian General Radetzky attempted the same deceitful game at Ferrara and Bologna, which Oudinot had practised at Rome. Pretending to desire only to know the free will of the people, in order to grant it, he assembled the town councils in those two places successively, and kindly enquired whether the citizens really preferred the Republic. At Ferrara he restored the hostages taken by the ferocious Haynau, the more to conciliate the people: but their enthusiasm for liberty and their unconquerable detestation of papal tyranny overcame all, and they unanimously declared for the Republic. Radetzky then threw off the mask: but the citizens, al-

though destitute of almost every means of defence, and with their citadel occupied by an Austrian garrison, flew to arms on the 8th of May, and with only four cannon, carried on a sanguinary conflict during eight days, and ceased to resist only when overwhelmed by superior force, yet absolutely refused to express submission to the Pope or his hired foreigners. In this extraordinary way of yielding, all the other cities and towns followed the example of Bologna : so that not a pretext has been left to the invaders or Pius IX. even to claim for a moment the right to hold their present sway in Rome.

“From all parts of the Roman States,” says an eye witness, “when the French violation was known, the defenders of liberty hurried to the capital. Rome appeared like a great river, which receives into its bosom the waters of the brooks which pay it their tribute. Noble and warlike youth, ready to die on the altars of their country, entered the gates of the eternal city, which gladly received them as her generous champions. Four hundred and fifty Lombards and other Italian citizens, led by the gallant Medici, and saved from the insurrection of General Fanti, came to share in the fate of Rome ; and Colonel Manara, whose loss our country still deeply mourns, had already entered with his honored banner.

“And here we ought to bear witness to the whole world, that the greater part of the men who fought in Lombardy, Piedmont and Rome, for the sacred cause of liberty, were not degraded people, the dregs of the prisons and galleys : but high-minded young men, drawn from their families, from domestic cares or studious habits, by the sole desire of devoting themselves to the independence of their native land.”

The Spanish expedition had arrived on the coast, and landed at Fiumicino, where they excited the derision and contempt of the Romans, by their pompous proclamations and cautions, timid inaction. The entire town, (which contained twenty houses and about one hundred and twenty souls, was solemnly summoned to surrender and acknowledge the authority of His Holiness the Sovereign Pontiff, under threats of condign and awful punishment. The captain of a Spanish brig then displayed the flag of his queen on a little tower: but it floated there only a few hours: for the Frenchmen, taking umbrage, sent to pull it down, and raise in its place the banner of *the great Republic!*

## CHAPTER XVII.

UNCERTAINTY of the Romans respecting the intentions of France.—Arrival of M. De Lesseps as ambassador from Paris.—Armistice.—Negotiations.—Testimony of De Lesseps in favor of the Romans.

After the defeat of the French under the walls of Rome, the greatest uncertainty existed respecting their future operations. The following decree was issued by the government ;

“ Roman Republic. In the name of God and the People.

“ Considering that the French people and Rome are not and cannot be in a state of war ;

“ That Rome defends her own inviolability by right and duty, but deprecating every offence between the two Republics, as an offence against common confidence ;

“ And that the Roman people do not regard as guilty of the acts of a deceived government, those who obey in fighting for it :

### “ THE TRIUMVIRATE DECREE.

“ Art. 1. The French who were made prisoners on the 30th of April are free, and shall be sent to the French camp.

“ Art. 2. The Roman people, at noon, will salute with applause and fraternal expressions the brave soldiers of the sister Republic.

“Rome, May 7, 1849.

“The Triumvirs, Amellini, Mazzini, Saffi.

“The day accordingly showed a scene of general festivity, and while the prisoners marched through the streets and out of the city gate, the air rang with : ‘Viva il popolo francese ! Viva le due repubbliche sorelle ! Abbasso il governo dei preti !’ (Long live the French people and the two sister Republics ! Down with the government of the priests !) The French soldiers repeated their declaration that they had been deceived, and vowed never again to fight their Roman friends ; and so they returned to their camp.

“A few days after, General Oudinot set at liberty the small remains of Manara’s battalion of Lombards, taken so treacherously at Cività Vecchia, the greater part having before effected their escape, through many dangers. Oudinot had endeavored to induce the Roman government to receive Manara’s soldiers in exchange : but this was refused, on the ground that they had been taken in bad faith. It was fully expected that the French would give four or five thousand muskets, which had been purchased in France : but this was not done.

“The expectation that the French would not repeat their attack upon the city, doubtless had its effect in preventing the active preparations proposed by the Minister of War, as the incredulity respecting their hostile intentions had before tended to cause delay. On his return to Rome, on the 6th or 7th of June, the idea prevailed, that the French would give no more trouble : but this was soon found to be a serious mistake.

“On the 15th of June, at midday, the hopes of the Romans were awakened anew, by the arrival of an envoy extraordinary



from the French government. This was Monsieur De Lesseps, who was accompanied by Signor Accursi, envoy of the Republic to Paris. Hostilities were immediately suspended, and General Oudinot drew his troops a short distance. According to report, published in the *Monitore* of Rome, M. Lesseps informed the Triumvirate, that he had been sent to remove the false impressions made by Jesuitical Romans on some of the party in France opposed to both Republics. The strange contradictions at that moment offered to the eyes of the Romans might well fill them with wonder ; and it would not have been astonishing, if their government had fallen into some great error. While Lesseps was making his explanations to the Triumvirate, Oudinot endeavored in vain to keep out the news from Paris : but the manly protest of M. Favre against him became known ; the Duke of Parma was drinking the health of the Croats in Piacenza ; and Radetzky, in Milan, at a banquet, was toasting 'the noble Garibaldi and the brave Romans, the conquerors of the French !'

"Oudinot made a request, through Lesseps, for permission to occupy some hills near the city, merely for the health of the French soldiers ; and the latter gave his word that no disadvantage should arise from it to the Romans. This was granted, as the friendly profession of Lesseps lulled all apprehension to sleep. But Oudinot, still smarting under his mortifying defeat, and dreading the blow which his opponents in Paris were endeavoring to give him, hastened his preparations against the city, and advanced his camp to the Villa Santucci, within four miles of Rome. The following letter, written to him by the President of France, spurred him on, and gave him full assurance of the support of that pretended 'republican.' The existence of this

note was drawn from M. Barrot, by an interrogation made in the Chamber on the 9th of June.

“My dear General. The telegraphic news of the unexpected resistance you have received at Rome grieves me deeply. You know I hoped that the inhabitants, opening their eyes to evidence, would have readily received an army destined to fulfil a mission of benevolence and disinterestedness. It has happened otherwise. Our soldiers were received as enemies. Our military honor, is implicated, and I never can consent to have it tarnished. Reinforcements shall not be wanting to you. Tell the soldiers that I count on their bravery and partake of their fatigues, and that they may ever count on my support and gratitude.

“Receive, dear General, the sentiments of my high esteem:

“May 8th, 1849.

LOUIS NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE.”

The news of Oudinot's defeat, alluded to above, was studiously concealed in Paris for three days; and, when known, produced the greatest agitation. And, so favorable became the aspect of things for peace in France, that the Prince of Canino, the President of the Roman Assembly, officially announced, on the 18th of June, that all danger from France had passed away, adjourned the Assembly, (which had until then been in permanent session,) and confirmed what the Triumvirate had declared, that all hostilities would be suspended between the two Republics.

The following articles were then presented by M. Lesseps, as the principles of a convention:

“1. The Roman States ask the fraternal protection of the French Republic.

“ 2. The Roman people have the right freely to declare their wishes on the form of government.

“ 3. Rome shall receive the French army, as an army of brethren. The service of the city shall be made in union with the Roman troops, and the civil and military authorities shall act in their legal functions.”

This proposition was refused.

From the 16th to the 18th of May, Monsieur Lesseps, who had been sent by the French government, (either in good or in bad faith,) to make arrangements with the Roman government, they drew up a plan for the establishment of “ a provisional government, to be chosen from the National Assembly, to exist until the people should decide what form of government they would have, and what securities ought to be given to Catholicism and the Papacy.” These words are in the third article of the project of the 16th of May. The following are in the project of the 18th : “ The Roman people have the right to express themselves freely on the form of their government.” And the following are the terms in which M. Corcelles expressed himself, in his letter of June 18th : “ France has only one object : the liberty of the Pontiff, the liberty of the Roman States and the peace of the world.”

And nothing was said, in the meantime, in any place or in any form, by the French government or its officers, contradictory to their friendly and honorable intentions towards the Roman Republic. With good reason, therefore, did Mazzini declare, in his letter to Messrs. Falloux and Tocqueville, that to the former belonged the sad honor of having first declared to all Europe, in his speech of August 7th, 1849, that “ France had been guilty

of falsehood up to that day." And Mazzini adds, with a solemn force so characteristic of his remarkable style of writing: "The victim was then on the ground, and with the dagger in her throat." He then calls upon the French government yet to be true to their promise, by calling the people together, and allow them "the right to express themselves freely on the form of their government," which they can do when the overawing presence of a powerful foreign army shall be withdrawn from their capital. But that, as he declares, the French government have no desire to do; for, having shown themselves enemies of Republicanism at home, they cannot feel real friendship for it abroad. "We can forgive you," he adds, "all the sufferings you have caused us: but one thing we cannot: your dishonoring, for many years to come, the name of her we called the emancipating nation."

M. Ferdinand de Lesseps has since shown very clearly, in his "Memoires" to the French Council of State, that the opinions which he formed of the feelings of the Roman people, were most decidedly in favor of the Republic and against the Pope, and that he expressed them in the clearest manner to his government. The perusal of such extracts as we give below, will give the reader the strongest conviction, that the French acted with their eyes open, and that the Republican government were honest in what they said, as well as patriotic in what they did.

"Austria," said M. Lesseps, about the middle of May, "always had much more exact information than we have, of the value of opinions, which constitute the strength of parties in the Italian peninsula. She knows the horror, (and this is the proper word,) with which the government of the priests inspires the

Romans, and would be very well pleased to see you assume the undertaking of a restoration, which is more political than religious ; and, it may be said, much more desired by absolutism than by catholicism."

The following is a note written by M. Lesseps, after a conference which he held with Count Terenzio Mamiani ;

"All in Rome have agreed to cast out from it the government of priests. If we wished to occupy Rome by force, before we have obtained from the Pope an explicit declaration, we shall find nothing but obstacles. It is certain that our soldiers may overcome all the physical obstacles : but in them lies the smallest of the difficulties. When we shall have entered Rome, when we shall have overthrown the Republic, the Holy Father will, most firmly refuse to return into the city, under the conditions which it would please us to impose. He has an absolute principle on his part, which he will give up, on no consideration ; and M. D'Harcourt has agreed to it with me, from our first conference. He told me that he had put down all hope of obtaining anything at Gaëta. On the other side there is also another absolute principle. The ecclesiastical government, however moderate it might be, can not be brought upon the country, unless by the force of our arms. It would be necessary to make the occupation permanent, either to preserve the restoration effected by us by violence, or to curb the expression of public opinion, which would become daily more hostile to the temporal power.

"We should end, therefore, by losing our influence over all parties, and by coming out at a point directly contrary to that which caused our expedition. Our forces and our expenditures would serve for nothing else, but to unite against us all the Ita-

lian passions. The intermediate or moderate party, the *juste milieu*, the conservative party, or whatever you please to call it, does not exist. I do not find it in force either at present or in prospect. It is true that some men, possessing personal merit, (officers without an army,) pretend to represent such a party; but any policy which you would ground upon them only, would end in no effect. I have said these things frankly to Signor Mamiani, who was introduced to me by M. Forbin Janson.

"I endeavored to ascertain whether he was able to help me in anything, if he had followers skillful and numerous enough to effect the reconciliation for which I had been sent. He answered me in the negative, adding that he and his dared not do anything, and that they had no probability of being able to accomplish it by themselves. You will confess to me, said I, that while it is necessary to me to seek where public opinion is, I can not find it among you; you declare with your own lips, that you cannot be of the least use to me.

"It seemed to me that Signor Mamiani was little satisfied with my frankness: but he did not oppose the evident truth of the small efficiency of his party. M. De Forbin Janson was present during our conference."

The circumstances which led to such discoveries and declarations, as those made by M. Lesseps, may be supposed to have been strange and extraordinary. There is reason to believe, that the mission on which he was sent, and which was professedly for the purpose of making an amicable arrangement between the Romans and the Pope, was a measure adopted at one of the moments of vacillation in the weak and unprincipled French cabinet of the day, when they feared to do right, and doubted.

which of the many wrong curses offered them they could pursue. Mazzini concludes, with every appearance of reason, that the Jesuits and diplomatists, acting as usual in concord, where evil is to be done to fair dealing and liberty, took advantage of the opportunity, to deceive the honest Romans to their lasting injury.

De Lesseps had an opportunity to witness the reception given to the army after the second defeat of the Neapolitans; and he may have made comparisons between the orderly and civilized behavior of the Roman people, which resembled, in regard to the universal enthusiasm, and the military prowess and success which gave occasion to it, one of the ancient triumphs, few of which ever celebrated so just a victory. Instead of proceeding to such acts of violence as the French, who broke in pieces the throne of Louis Philippe, sacked the palace, burned the royal coaches, &c., they proceeded with moderation, and contented themselves with smiles and acclamations. On one occasion a crowd of people, having brought from the churches the hated confession boxes, by means of which they and their ancestors had been deceived so long, and often so fatally, were persuaded to spare them.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

**THE** battle of Palestrina.—The battle of Velletri.—New perfidy of Gen. Oudinot, and the advantage he gained by it.—Scene of action near the walls of Rome.—Villas Pamfili, Corsini, Quattro Ventri and Vascello.—The Milvian Bridge.—Roman bravery.—The siege commenced.

**T**he Neapolitans now made their appearance in sight of Rome, and occupied the hills; or group of hills called the Tusculan, a strong position on the border of the plain of the Campagna, twelve miles south of the city, in number twenty-five thousand. Their extreme right was at a small village towards the nearest post of the Appenines, their left at Castel Gondolfo, and their advance at Albano, and their head-quarters at Velletri. Passing through their centre was the celebrated Appian Way, the first part of which is unused. General Avezzana sent Garibaldi to watch the Neapolitans, and to act according to circumstances. He had with him one hundred cavalry under Colonel Messina, three hundred Lombard riflemen under Colonel Manara, two hundred Gardes Mobiles, drafted from other corps, and two hundred students, besides one thousand of the First Italian Legion: in all, about eighteen hundred men.

On reaching Palestrina, a village on the slope of a hill, several miles east of the enemy,) he halted, and sent a party round towards Valmontano, to their right, to reconnoitre, knowing that



seven thousand of the enemy had made their appearance at Monte Fortino, moving on against them ; and they retreated. Garibaldi, on receiving intelligence of this, placed two companies at the head of one of the roads leading up to Palestrina, and two at the other, having his main body in the village, and a reserve, to act on either side. This advance soon came in, pursued by the enemy, who were well appointed troops and very strong in cavalry and artillery. They came up in two divisions ; the left of which speedily drove back the two Roman companies opposed to them, deployed and attacked the whole line. But the resistance to their right and centre was resolute and successful, so that they were driven back in confusion. Garibaldi in person, then came to the rescue of his right, with the reserve ; and then the route became complete on all sides. Unfortunately the want of cavalry made a pursuit impossible ; and the Neapolitans were of necessity permitted to escape, carrying off their wounded, and leaving the Romans with some prisoners and but trifling loss.

After this affair Garibaldi was recalled to Rome, and returned.

Colonel Roselli, entered Rome on the 14th of May, with his regiment ; and, General Avezzana having resigned the office of Commander-in-Chief of the army, he was appointed in his place. Suffice it to say, that Roselli, being inexperienced in such duties as now devolved upon him, failed to secure all that might have been done, in some of the important scenes we have to review ; a want of foresight and promptitude being discernible in cases which it is not essential to our purpose to point out.

The Foreign Legion was now formed, of three hundred volun-

teers. Bologna fell on the 16th of May; and the Austrians threatened Romagna. The position of Rome at that moment may well strike the reader. It may be compared with that in which it was, when Hannibal approached it, and, although with a force incomparably inferior, compared with the population and military preparation of the city, spread a general panic among the people, who were on the point of submitting without a struggle. When we turn to the aspect of the Republicans of May, 1849, we find a marked contrast to all this: ninety thousand troops now surrounded Rome: yet, although the whole population did not exceed one hundred and twenty thousand, there was no where to be seen a symptom of fear nor an example of treachery, except among the priests' party.

On the 19th of June, the Roman army under Roselli was sent out against the Neapolitans, then commanded by Bomba (the king) in person. Garibaldi had command of the vanguard, which consisted of the 1st Italian Legion 1,100 men, 3d of the line 800, cavalry 50, and 2 pieces of light artillery. Going to their right, as before, through a hilly region, he reached Valsontone, where he learned that the enemy were sending their baggage and heavy artillery to their rear, and concluded that they were on the retreat. Pushing on to Monte Fortino, he found the report confirmed; and, on coming to within two miles of Velletri, at 8 a. m., where the view opened, he saw their cavalry posted along the Appian Way, and the retreat commencing. As soon as Garibaldi's column was discovered, the Neapolitans prepared to attack him; and he placed his troops in échelon along the road, on the terraces of the vineyards, rising behind each other to protect his retreat in case of necessity, or

to act as a reserve if the enemy should be repulsed. He drew up the first Legion on both sides of the road, in the best position he could, and thus awaited the attack, leaving two companies in column in the road itself, and the cavalry and artillery in a position where they might be made most serviceable.

The enemy came on and attacked but were repulsed; and though they several times returned, they could not dislodge the Romans, nor stand their fire. They were finally obliged to retreat, leaving many killed, and retired into the city of Velletri, for safety. Being too weak to attempt a pursuit, Garibaldi was compelled to see the enemy escaping from his hands. The main body at length came up in season to cut off the road, but Gen. Roselli ordered an attack upon the city, which was made by the first Legion, but without effect, and the enemy escaped.

A battalion had been formed in Rome, called Della Speranza, (the Company of Hope.) Some of them were poor orphan boys, who were supported in one of the city ospizi. The oldest of them were not above sixteen years of age. That battalion of children accompanied Garibaldi on the expedition against Velletri where the Neapolitan army was posted, under command of the king. Garibaldi put them all to the rout, as is well known—both the king and his troops; and that blood-thirsty prince narrowly escaped being made prisoner. Garibaldi declares that the Battaglione della Speranza were posted behind certain vineyards which bordered the road to Velletri, and had orders to fire upon the Neapolitans, in case they approached the place. And those brave boys kept up a well sustained and regular fire, and courageously put the enemy to flight. Their commander says those children fought like veteran soldiers.

The division of the army commanded by Colonel Mezzacappa entered Rome, amounting to four battalions, a squadron of cavalry, and a field battery, he having left in Bologna the 4th regiment of the line, and three battalions in Ancona. Among the troops under Mezzacappa was a small legion of choice and brave young men, recently formed and commanded by Colonel Medici. There was a band of Polanders not exceeding 200. At that moment things wore a flattering aspect, for the French appeared more disposed to make an amicable arrangement; as the Romans desired.

The Romans acceded to the proposals brought by Lesseps in good faith, being still unwilling to believe that government unfriendly. Appearances afterwards forced upon the most unwilling, the belief that the real object of the French, was to gain time.

The new General-in-chief Roselli, then addressed a note to Gen. Oudinot, telling him that his army was ready to join with the French in fighting the common enemy, and that the moment was most critical for the Austrians, who were threatening to concentrate at Foligno, and would then endeavor to extend from the Tuscan to the Neapolitan frontiers, ought to be attacked immediately. He therefore asked for an unlimited armistice, not to be ended without fifteen days notice; and added that, if the Austrians should reach Cività Castellana, the responsibility would rest with the French, who might enable them to do so, if the proposed armistice should be refused. But Oudinot soon sent a note containing the following:

“General,—The orders of my government are positive: they order me to enter Rome as soon as possible. \* \* I notify

the recommencement of hostilities. However, to give time to my countrymen who wish to leave Rome, I shall defer the attack upon the place at least until Monday morning." \* \*

That day was to be the 4th of June, and as the word of Gen. Oudinot was presumed to have a respect to the faith of a soldier, the Roman troops were allowed to repose on Saturday night, in the city, that they might be prepared to meet the coming contest which was to be regarded with seriousness, as the enemy were so superior in numbers, discipline, experience, and arms. It was in consequence of this, that the French made their attack under very great advantages; for the Romans had withdrawn all their troops except 400 men from the points selected for attack, and upon which the French suddenly fell, on Sunday morning, before daybreak, with 8000 troops. But, in order to understand the circumstances, and also to have clear ideas of the subsequent military operations, it is necessary to look a moment at the position of the city.

The city of Rome is surrounded by a wall about twenty miles in circuit; and, as the Tiber flows through it, one portion, viz. that on its right bank, might be approached by the enemy without crossing that small, but celebrated river. That part of the city is the most populous, and known as the "Transtevere," (from the Latin "Trans Tiberim") beyond the Tiber, the inhabitants of which are, or rather were, until the time of which we are speaking, the most ignorant devotees of the Pope. The city wall, parts of which were built under different emperors, is too weak to stand before modern cannon, and is destitute of bastions, to give cross-fires. The Vatican and a portion of the wall do indeed form salient angles from the general lines of the

wall : but the former is too distant from most of the ground which it should protect, and the surface is unfavorable. The latter, if taken, offers a position which commands all Rome. To guard this, special care was taken by the defenders, although the intentions of the enemy appeared doubtful. They had thrown a bridge across the Tiber, but their camp was formed, and no movement was made to cross it. The Roman troops were therefore divided : one division, under Gen. Garibaldi, was stationed for the defence of the right bank, and the other, under General Bartolucci, for the left. These were to be united whenever an assault was made.

The Villa Pamfili, the palace and grounds of a noble family of that name, stands at a distance in the country, beyond the walls, towards the enemy's camp, and was expected to be first attacked. Preparations were made for its defence, by clearing the ground in some places, levelling the roof and furnishing it with arms. On the right of the Villa extends the garden and on the left a wood. The street of Tiradiavoli leads to the former, and the communication with the wood is by the street of the Capelletta Pamfili.

Here were left only four hundred men on Saturday night, July 2d, 1849, as has been said before, when, at two o'clock the following morning two divisions of the French army suddenly fell upon the position, under the command of Generals Molière and Levaillant. One of these approached by the Tiradiavoli, while the others entered the wood ; each supported by another division. At the same time a strong detachment having made a breach in the intermediate part, entered the Villa. The Roman troops who were stationed in the garden, retired fighting to

the Casino Corsini and the church of San Pancrazio, [St. Pancras]: but the two hundred in the wood, finding their retreat cut off by the French detachment last mentioned, were obliged to surrender to a force ten-fold their own. The enemy then attacked the Villa Corsini and the church, where they met a vigorous resistance, although they were eight thousand men against two hundred. The Romans were at length dislodged by numbers and retired to the casamento called the Vascello: but, hastily forming again, they returned and regained their post. At five o'clock Garibaldi arrived with reinforcements, and found this little band stoutly maintaining themselves, in spite of the enemy's superiority. The Villas Corsini and Valentini were regarded as most important positions for the French, and their possession was pertinaciously disputed. They were taken and re-taken several times.

The battle lasted till six in the evening—sixteen hours, when most of the Romans were obliged to retire into the city, leaving the invaders in possession of the ground, to enjoy as they might the first of their triumphs, in their career of falsehood and self-contradiction. But the Vascello and other points held out through the siege.

"If," says an Italian writer, "the French general had not accompanied superiority of numbers, with deceit and perfidy; if he had not given assurance in his note that the attack would not be made before the morning of the 4th, all the troops would have been on the spot at the beginning of the action, and eight thousand men would not have attacked a position defended by only four hundred. The day was for the French, it is true: but their glory is sullied with infamy; and in the heart of every

Roman is deeply impressed the conviction, that but for the deception they practised, the troops of the President of the French Republic would have been put to flight."

On the same day, (Sabbath, July 3d,) an attack was also made on the Milvian Bridge, one of the interesting remains of ancient architecture, pleasing and familiar to travellers in Italy, and represented in many pictures and prints. It crosses the Tiber about two miles from Rome, and on the main road from the north to that fine entrance of the city, the Porta del Popolo. Not far from it is Monte Mario, a hill which overlooks the city, but at such a distance as not to be a dangerous position. It was however important to the French, being so steep on that side as to be inaccessible, but so smooth on the other as to be useless to the Romans, yet they threw up a small redoubt upon it, in order to defend it against the enemy, but they were driven from the spot by a brigade under General Sauvan, composed of the 13th light regiment and the 13th of the line, which took possession of the height. The Milvian Bridge had been mined by the Romans; but the mine was prematurely sprung, and destroyed only one of the arches, nearest the right bank, by a solid stone tower. The bridge was assaulted by the French on the 3d, who got possession of the tower, and drove away the few soldiers who were on guard on the opposite side of the river. At the same time a detachment of the French swam across the stream, and took position on the left of the road to the Porta del Popolo, where the ground is covered with vineyards. They were attacked by the Roman reserve, under General Galletti, and the division of General Bartolucci, and, after a short resistance, were driven back across the Tiber. But it was found



impossible to dislodge the enemy from the Milvian Bridge, on account of its peculiar situation. A turn in the road rendered it necessary to bring the cannon within half musket shot, too near to be served under the fire of a tower filled with sharpshooters. The enemy repaired the broken arch with plank, and thus restored the communication with the opposite side.

All visitors of Rome well remember the public walk on the Pincian Hill, a little to the right of the Porta del Popolo. That hill, is a commanding eminence, formerly without the city, but now enclosed by the wall, which runs along its edge. As it overlooks the city, the walk is a favorite resort of citizens and strangers, much of the ground being covered with churches, the palaces of ecclesiastics, &c. There is, however, still higher ground in the adjacent country, where the Villa Borghese and the Villa Poniatowsky are seen, with their elevated, undulated gardens; and beyond the former Monti Parioli, a group of hills overtopping them both.

The General-in-chief Roselli, apprehending a coup de main by the French, to seize the last mentioned heights, pushed forward his advanced posts, and occupied them, extending them to the right, with those on the road of the Porta del Popolo. This formed a line along the river's bank, which there forms a re-entering angle towards the city, with the Milvian Bridge at its point. A piece of cannon was placed so as to batter the bridge; but necessarily at a very long distance. The enemy, on the 15th, attacked the hills, and after an active defence, succeeded in occupying them. This gave them the command of the road along the river, and they made an attempt to turn the left of the Romans' position. Among those fell in the defence of

Monti Parioli was Captain Podulak, a Polish officer of the staff of the Commander-in-chief. He was carrying an order, when he was surrounded by the French, who had just turned the Roman left. He was called on to surrender: but, instead of complying, fired two pistol shots, killing several around him. Being in an instant struck by several musket balls, he drew his sword, cut down another of his opponent, and then received a last and fatal wound. When his body was sought for the next day by his fellow-patriots, they were informed of these particulars by the French who restored it, to be interred.

The Roman troops on this side the city, could not undertake any movement against their invaders with anything like an equal force, because the rest of the army was fully occupied on the ground first mentioned. They therefore only retired from the hills from which they had been dislodged, and occupied the villas Borghese and Poniatowsky, which form a continuous line with the position of Papa Giulio. This line the French made several attempts to break through; but they could not succeed. During the attack on the Villa Pamfili and its vicinity, no other action took place except that now described, about the Milvian Bridge and Monti Parioli.

The French had established their depository of entrenchment at the Chapel of San Pancrazio, about 1000 metres from the city, marked out their first parallel, which passed on the left behind the Casino Corsini, and was defended by the villa Valentini and the wall of the villa Pamfili, while the right extended to the Tiber. Two radiating lines proceeded from this parallel, which surrounding the villa Corsini, communicated with Lodovico Ca-

landrelli, although manned by a very small number of soldiers. Animated by his example, they spent their whole time by their guns, although continually exposed to the terrible fire of the French Vincennes carabines. The French cannon were many times silenced, although the Romans had no pieces of large calibre. Counter approaches were commenced, outside of the gate of San Pancrazio, to stop the enemy's progress; and a mine was opened at bastion No. 7, but not completed.

On Monte Pincio some field fortifications were thrown up; but the chief attention was directed to the 6th and 7th bastions. The ground rises towards the two bastions, and the Romans took advantage of it, and constructed three solid batteries, which covered entirely the head of the breach, by uniting it with continuous and simple entrenchment. And these delayed the enemy ten days longer.

The first parallel of the enemy had hardly been formed when it became almost impossible to make successful sorties: the enemy never showed themselves at the Casino Corsini; but the mass of their troops were behind it. Gen. Garibaldi made several attempts to recapture that edifice, but his troops were always repulsed.

When the enemy had reached their third parallel, two thousand men were assembled between the 6th and 7th bastions, besides those who performed the daily service, in order to destroy and capture the enemy's works. The place by which the troops were to have marched to the assault, was protected from the artillery of the enemy, but only a small number were sent out, and they were repulsed, with a formidable battery of cannon and howitzers placed in front of that edifice. The extreme right

of the first parallel was furnished with a similar battery, to oppose the Romans' batteries on the opposite side of the Tiber. The French reached their third parallel, where they placed their batteries of breaching cannon and mortar batteries.

With such a force as the invaders possessed, and with all the advantages offered to the assailants by a city so ill fitted for defence as Rome, it might have been expected that but a short time would suffice to reduce it. The wall presented to the French batteries, as has been before remarked, was almost a straight line, having no bastions, and scarcely permitting a cross-fire upon any point. The walls also themselves were thin, and a poor defence against heavy shot. At the same time the cannon upon them were very few and far inferior to those of the French ; and the troops were too few to permit a sally. An Italian officer, after alluding to the peculiar advantages of the assailants, remarks, that " Ten days were more than sufficient to allow them to storm a breach ; but, instead of that, the enemy did not effect it until the night of June 21st. Was this owing to want of skill ? No ; then the subaltern, of the French army displayed admirable capacity ; and the delay must have been occasioned by the fear inspired by Roman valor and the ignominy of the cause they served, which was shared by the French generals themselves.

The Vascello was a country house, two hundred paces outside of the walls, and within fifty paces of the enemy. It was entrusted by Garibaldi to Colonel Medici, commanding the legion of Italian voltigeurs, chiefly Lombards. Opposite the Vascello was the Casino Quattro Venti strongly occupied by the French, about two hundred and fifty paces distant, in a very command-

ing position, on the street of San Pancrazio. Two Roman advance posts, on the right and left, in two casini, were about one hundred paces beyond the Vascello.

The Medici legion occupied the Vascello the first day of the siege, and abandoned it only at the latest hour. From the first to the last it was the scene of the most active struggle : for the French used every exertion to obtain possession. Works were planned by the commander and thrown up by the brave soldiers, which kept the French engineers at a distance, who then commenced a battery at the Villa Quattro Venti, where their operations could not be disturbed. The Vascello also annoyed the French on the flank, while they proceeded with their works ; and yet the garrison resisted every attempt to dislodge them. A mine was once nearly completed by them, but interrupted. The cannon of Villa Corsini, after effecting a breach in the city wall, opened upon the Vascello, and in a few days reduced it almost to ruins. In the night of the 25th the French approached, and the order, "à la bayonette !" was heard : but the Romans instantly poured a volley upon them, when a conflict of an hour ensued, but without success, as again on a still later occasion.

While the invaders pressed their works, the besieged were equally industrious. Solid batteries were constructed on Monte Testaccio, at the Priorato and Santa Sabina, which battered the French entrenchments. The artillery on both sides of the gate of San Pancrazio was in constant operation.

## CHAPTER XIX.

THE city pressed by the siege.—Entrance of the French by an ancient subterranean.—Attempts to drive them out.—Effects of the bombardment and cannonade.—Protest of the Diplomatic corps

On the 20th of June the French bombardment and cannonade became very active; and shot, shells and grenades fell without ceasing upon the walls, the neighboring houses and in many parts of the city, especially the Transtevere, or western side of the Tiber. The enemy set fire to a mine in their entrenchment near San Pancrazio, but without success. The Romans, however, prosecuted their works with alacrity.

In the morning the enemy attempted the capture of one of the casini near Villa Corsini. It was occupied by only thirty Romans, of the Union regiment; and the French assaulted it at two in the morning, in great numbers, expecting to take it by surprise. Some of them entered, and the officers gave the command: "Charge with bayonets!" when the Romans rushed upon them, and maintained a resolute contest hand to hand, until the French gave way and retreated, leaving four prisoners, and several wounded and many dead, among whom was a captain.

Through the 21st the cannonade continued; and at night

they made an attack upon all the points. They were every where unsuccessful, however, and the firing ceased.

On the same night, the troops who had been stationed in a house a little to the left of the Porta San Pancrazio, and within the wall, were changed for others, who, it appears, were inattentive to what was passing in their neighborhood; for in the morning, it was discovered that a body of the enemy had made a lodgment in a building not far distant, having entered by a subterraneous passage under the wall, discovered and betrayed by a Prussian deserter. They suddenly appeared between two lines of sentinels and drove them in. By active measures they threw up a breast-work, mounted cannon, and assumed an imposing attitude. Notwithstanding this, the Romans still held possession of the bastion on the left of the gate of San Pancrazio. An inner line of defence was then immediately formed by the Romans, extending from the wall at two points and meeting at the remains of an ancient building of the Emperor Adrian.

The appearance of the enemy within the walls was so unexpected, and the position they occupied was so important, and so well fortified when they were first discovered, that the utmost activity was employed to oppose them. An inner line was immediately constructed, consisting of two entrenched walls, extending from a ruinous edifice of Adrian on each side to the city walls; and an active fire was soon poured upon them. The following proclamation was published:

“The Triumvirate to the People.

“Romans! By the aid of darkness, like a traitor, the enemy has obtained a footing within the breach. Let Rome rise, let

the people rise in their irresistible power, and spurn him ! Let their corpses close the breach. Whoever touches Rome as an enemy is accursed of God.

“While Oudinot in desperation makes his last effort, France is rising in commotion, and disavows this band of soldiers who are disgracing her. A last exertion on our part, O Romans ! and our country is saved for ever. Rome, by her constancy, will have given the signal for a new rising in Europe. In the name of your fathers, in the name of futurity, rise to the conflict—rise and conquer. One prayer to the God of the brave, one thought of confidence towards your brethren, and your hand on your musket. To-day every man becomes a hero—it will decide the fate of Rome and the Republic.

“The Triumvirs,

“June 22d, 18 49.

“G. Mazzini, C. Amellini, A. Saffi.”

The French that day attacked the positions of Pope Julius, Villa Poniatowsky and Villa Borghese : but they were repulsed at every point, by the cool resolution of the defenders. At San Pancrazio the cannonade was constant through the day.

Even in this state of the city, orders were not received to evacuate the Vascello, and it was defended, the troops fighting the enemy,

On the 29th, the roar of cannon was almost incessant, and ceased at night, only to recommence in a storm of shot and shells early in the morning. These were thrown from Monte Parioli into all parts of the city ; and before three o'clock, the whole line of the Roman entrenchments was attacked, the breach in the left bastion of San Pancrazio was occupied, and four pieces of



artillery were taken. The Romans twice charged, to recover the position, but were unable.

During this time Gen. Sauvan, with 1600 men, invaded Tivoli, and destroyed the powder manufactory, although the municipality protested against the ruin of a building many centuries old. His reply is worthy of record : "The undersigned general acknowledges the receipt of the protest of the municipality of Tivoli, protesting against the destruction of the powder house in that city. However, he is going to destroy it.

G. SAUVAN."

#### THE BOMBARDMENT OF ROME.

The 30th of June, writes an eye witness, was a terrible day for Rome : for then the city yielded to foreign force. The bombardment, which continued three hours, was so incessant and destructive, that it seemed about to bury the whole city in ruins. The inhabitants were all in the streets. Here was seen a tender mother, with her little ones in her arms, running about in search of a safe retreat ; and there another making her own breast a shield for her children ; while boys were often met with, trying to carry on their shoulders the corpses of their beloved fathers. A general murmuring sound was everywhere heard, of women lamenting, not for themselves, but for the loss of those more dear. A few aged and grey-headed persons kneeled on the steps of churches, praying to the Lord to give the degraded Pontiff another mind ; while those of a more spirited character ran to where the danger was greatest among the falling bombshells. Shepherds drove away their flocks, to find some secure place ; and, as if the animals themselves shared the feelings of men, the air was filled with their mournful cries.

In one spot in the Piazza di Venezia (the square of Venice) a shell burst and killed three persons. A woman was crossing the Bridge of Sixtus, when a large cannon shot took off her head. While standing within a few steps of the Colonna square I saw, in a short time, two convoys pass, carrying a great number of wounded persons to the hospital of San Giacomo ; and immediately afterwards several others arrived with biers and litters, on the same melancholy errand. Wherever I went within, I heard long and painful lamentations from unfortunate sufferers, whose limbs had been cut or torn by the swords or balls of the enemy. But amidst all I heard not a single exclamation against the new government, though a thousand against the unbridled vengeance of the Pontiff, who had condemned his children to such cruel torments.

In different parts of the city fires broke out ; and the courageous Roman firemen instantly ran to extinguish them. "Hasten," said I, to an old man, of the common people, who seemed resolved to remain in the Piazza Navona ; "hasten, I pray you, in the name of God." "Let me stay," he replied ; "what is there for me to do in this world ? Yesterday the French hung my son, who was in the battalion of the University ; and this night my daughter, the only creature left to me, went to get water to quench my thirst, when she was struck to the ground by a shot." And so saying, his sobs interrupted him ; and after a moment he was silent and motionless. I thought I might restore him, and took his hand in mine. He breathed, but in a few moments he breathed his last.

What the old man had told, proved too true ; and the young student was found in a villa outside of the city walls, hung to a

beam. A few days before, the French had thrown out of the windows of a house occupied by them, several other young men of the University who had fallen into their hands. These are truths which all Rome will attest ; and all Rome would not falsify for me.

ROMAN MONUMENTS INJURED BY THE FRENCH.

One of the finest palaces of Raffaele was struck by many of their cannon balls ; and one of its beautiful columns was broken in pieces.

Canova's Hercules, in the Casa Torlonia had a narrow escape from destruction, for a shell fell upon the cupola of the temple in which it stands, but did not break through ; and thus that master-piece of modern art escaped the modern Vandals.

Recruits were still coming into Rome, to join in the defence : but many of the inhabitants retired into the country every night, to avoid useless exposure to the shot and shells. The municipality at length addressed the following :

"CIRCULAR TO THE FOREIGN REPRESENTATIVES.

"Honorable Gentlemen. During twenty-two days projectiles have been thrown by the French troops upon the inhabited parts of this city, injuring even the churches and most valuable monuments. In the night of the 22d this mode of aggression, which is the more to be condemned, because of the present state of civilization, was greatly increased ; and old people and children have been made victims. The Roman magistracy, in this state of things, turn to you, believing it certain, that for the interests of humanity, and representing a great and civilized nation, you cannot remain indifferent spectators of a deed so barbarous

towards the monumental city, par excellence, and will effectually exert yourselves to prevent this war, which was in no way provoked, from producing excesses repugnant to the present condition of the civilized nations of Europe.

“Receive the sincere protestations of our high esteem.

At the Capitol, June 24th, 1849.

“FRANCESCO STURBINETTI, Senator.

GIUSEPPE ROSSI, Secretary.”

An answer was returned the same day, by the British minister, Hon. George Freeborn, in the name of the corps, expressing deep interest, and stating that Oudinot had consented to cease firing, to receive a Roman officer at a conference. The following is a translation of the note sent by the corps to Oudinot. It justly characterizes as barbarous the bombardment of a city :

“GENERAL:—The undersigned, Consular agents representing their respective governments, take the liberty to make known to you, sirs, their profound grief at your having kept up the bombardment of the Eternal City during many days and nights. The object of these presents, General, is to make the most energetic remonstrances against this mode of warfare, which not only puts in peril the lives and property of neutral and peaceful citizens, but also those of women and little children.

“We also notify you, General, that the bombardment has already cost the lives of many innocent persons, and has destroyed master-pieces of art, which can never be replaced.

“We confide in you, General, that, in the name of humanity, and of civilized nations, you will desist from all future bombardment, to avoid the destruction of the *City of Monuments*,

which is considered as under the moral protection of all the civilized nations in the world.

"We have the honour to be, with profound respect, General, your most humble servants.

"(Signed,) Freeborn, Consular Agent of his Britannic Majesty.

"D. Marstaller, Consul of his Majesty the King of Prussia.

"Chevalier P. C. Magrini, attaché to the Embassy of His Majesty the King of the Low Countries.

"Jean Bravo, Consul of His Majesty the King of Denmark.

"Frederick Bégré, Consul of the Swiss Confederation.

"Chevalier Kolb, Consul of His Majesty the King of Wirtemberg.

"Count Shaker, Secretary of the Republic of San Salvador in Central America.

"Nicholas Brown, Consul of the United States of America.

"James E. Freeman, Consul of the United States of America for Ancona.

"Jerome Borea, Consul General for His Majesty the King of Sardinia, and provisionally for Tuscany."

General Oudinot replied, on the morning of the 25th, that he would spare the inhabitants as much as possible; yet, in the following night, the bombardment began again, as dreadful as ever, so that the people knew not where to seek for safety. Such however, was the universal good order, that no disturbance was made. That night the important outpost of the Vascello was attacked by the enemy with resolution: but they were gallantly repulsed, with great loss, by detachments from the Medici, Melara, Manara, Acioni, and Unione regiments, which occupied it.

## CHAPTER XX.

PROPOSED plan to continue the defence.—A cessation of resistance decided on.—Garibaldi's departure.—Negotiations.

Rome was now reduced to such a state that it was impossible to continue the defence, without the certainty of a general destruction of life as well as of property of every kind. Gen. Avezzana proposed to withdraw to the left bank of the Tiber, relinquishing all the Vatican side to the enemy, and occupying the high and continued ranges of houses, which rise from the very water all along that curving line. The enemy would then be able to throw their missiles wherever they pleased from the Capitoline Hill : but an obstinate resistance might possibly attain some good result, for a change of affairs in France, or some other cause, might give all things a new face. But it was decided that so wide-spread a desolation ought to be avoided ; and the noble spirit of the defenders, although as strong as ever, finally yielded to considerations of humanity towards the thousands of inhabitants. But it was universally determined by the members of the government, and the mass of the troops and the people, that the enemy should find not a friend nor even an indifferent spectator among them. Even the acts and words of formal submission, usual

in such cases from time immemorial, were not to be employed. Opposition was to cease, but under open protest.

But there were many who would not even submit to lay down their arms : and it may easily be conjectured who now appeared at their head.

Garibaldi addressed his troops in these words : “ *Soldati ! In ricompensa dell' amore che alla patria portate, io v' offro fame, sete, freddo, guerra e morte. Ma chi ama la patria venga e mi segua.* ”—(Soldiers ! In reward for the love which you bear to the country, I offer you hunger, thirst, cold, war, and death. But whoever loves the country, come, follow me.)

And those generous men, as one of his countrymen writes, who was then in Rome, did follow him ; and his anticipations were too well verified. He thought he should be able to open a way and arrive in time to give help to Venice, (then besieged by the Austrians.) But that was not possible. Inscrutable decrees had determined also the fall of that magnanimous city.

On the 4th of July a superior officer of the Roman Staff was appointed to inform General Oudinot, that the Roman army was to be disbanded, and ask for time to effect the operation regularly, by making the provisions necessary for the return of the brave youth to their homes. The army had already contributed a fund for this purpose, of their money. Oudinot did not receive the officer in person, but informed him, through a captain of his staff, that the Roman army must be sent away and the divisions of it placed in different cantonments. The object of this was seen. Oudinot might do what he pleased with the troops in such a scattered and helpless condition, either disarm and ill-treat them, or leave them to starve, until they should be driven

to scatter over the country, and then to be held up, through the journals of Europe, as vagabonds and marauders. Certain American editors would have gained their hearts' desire, if this had been effected. But the French commander demanded also, that all the "foreigners" should be disarmed, and turned out of the gates before the evening of that day. This order was intended to include all the people in the city not belonging to the papal territory. "A Frenchman," exclaims a writer, in speaking of this subject, "A Frenchman calling an Italian a *stranger* in Rome!"

At the time when this answer was returned, a procession was seen approaching the city from the French camp, which excited astonishment, and even ridicule, when it was understood. An officer of the French came with a letter to the Roman Commander-in-chief, escorted by a company of infantry; and a piquette guard accompanied him into the very hall, where he was received by General Roselli and his staff. To this shameful violation of domicil a general protest was made; and the soldiers were ordered into the street. We translate the letter:

"General. Five regiments of the Roman army; that is, the regiment of Carabiniers, the first of dragoons, the first, second and third of the line, have declared verbally, and in writing, that they entirely submit to the orders which the French general may give in all circumstances. That submission secures to them our benevolent protection.

"The other corps of the Roman army maintain towards us an attitude which we must regard as hostile. Numbers of your soldiers have performed unworthy acts towards some of ours,



and demand immediate vengeance. This state of things is intolerable, and must be ended. I have declared to you, that, to-morrow, at mid-day, the city of Rome must be entirely abandoned by the troops who have not offered their absolute submission.

"I have told you, that in no case shall we allow a single piece of artillery to go out of Rome. I have sent you an officer, who will acquaint you sufficiently with the will of the French government. You must obey it, without delay. It is necessary that the corps recruited in countries foreign to the Roman States, immediately leave the city of Rome, and be instantly furnished with permits.

"In the grave circumstances in which we find ourselves, there must be deeds and not words. This letter will probably be the last you will receive from me.

"If you conclude to offer the least resistance, *to the orders* herein contained, there will be war, and a terrible war, the responsibility of which will fall wholly on you.

"The General-in-Chief of the French army.

"(Signed,)

LOUDINOT DI REGGIO."

This letter was read with the highest indignation ; and the following answer was returned :

"General, I am going to give orders, that to-morrow, before noon, all the corps shall leave Rome, and those formed of strangers shall be disbanded and disarmed ; I, however do not make myself responsible for individual resistances which may occur.

(Signed,)

ROSELLI."

After the departure of the French officer with this letter, a scene occurred at the Roman head-quarters, which would have

been deemed worthy of the highest admiration, if it had taken place two thousand years ago, and might have been described in Latin and English verse, and placed among those of highest interest in the classical works in American libraries. But too many of us have prejudices in favor of one nation and against another, which nothing can remove.

Gen. Roselli invited the officers present to express their opinions; and every one, except a few who had signified their submission, indignantly rejected the idea of accepting their terms. He then had General Oudinot's proclamation read, in which he called the Republican Government a factious one, although elected by the people and conducted as the world have seen. A general cry of indignation rose from the assembly, who, as a writer remarks, "although they were not veterans, nor educated in military schools, had seen the backs of Frenchmen on the field, faced their grapeshot, and still felt a palpitation in the breast at the name of their country; and they resigned their offices on the spot. A second letter was then drawn up, and sent to Gen. Oudinot, in the following terms:

"General,—I have assembled the heads of the corps, and read the proclamation you have sent me this day. Finding the government which they obeyed broken down by brutal force, they have decided to resign their commissions, and with them all the officers. The soldiers, animated by the same sentiment, leave the service. Therefore, to-morrow, before noon, the army will be dissolved.

"The heads of the corps have undertaken to effect the disarming, delivering the arms to the municipality; and they will

do their utmost to place the city in the same state as before the entrance of strangers.

"I therefore, with all my staff, send my resignation to the minister of war, and cease from all responsibility and authority.

(Signed,) ROSELLI."

A general protest was then drawn up, signed by all the officers of the army and sent to General Avezzana, the minister of war. It is as follows :

*"In the name of God and the People :*

"We, the undersigned, solemnly protest against the violence which has overthrown the government of the Roman Republic, established by the free vote of the people, conducted in perfect civil order, and made sacred by the blood shed in its defence. Our sword, consecrated to the Republic, we lay down, declaring that we will not serve a despotic government, imposed upon the noble Roman people by the French arms."

(The signatures followed.)

We might pause here to consider at length the patriotism, justice, and dignity of this step, but the reader may ask himself what he can suggest, that would have been more just, noble and admirable, if his own country had been thus involved. If the reader be one of those who have despised or even assailed the Roman Republicans, from any ignorance or prejudice, does he not find, at this point of their history, reason to declare himself their admirer and their advocate? If not, how can we applaud or even approve a single act or principle, of those commonly called by distinction American, in all the history of his own land?

The disinterestedness of the Roman chiefs, and officers was not exhausted, even after this greatest of trials. They next applied themselves to the arrangements necessary for the disbanded troops. That same night the chiefs of the corps presented to the Commander-in-chief a bill for advance pay for one month, and immediately received it out of a fund of \$100,000, which was at his command. The remainder, which was considerable, was then proportionately distributed to soldiers who had to travel far to their homes.

And now the reader should know the real amount of the Roman forces which submitted to the French General Oudinot names "five regiments," which, if full, would have constituted about as many thousand men. But, so greatly were their numbers reduced, that the whole amounted to only about eight hundred ! As for the two regiments of cavalry, there were scarcely the skeletons, as almost every man of them had marched with Garibaldi.

The three first "regiments of the line" were also reduced far towards the same state, and by the same cause : so that the French army gained, by these few additions, all the scum and dregs of the army they had overwhelmed without conquering. In what estimation they and the Austrians held those who disdained their threats and their bribes, we may infer from the fact, that the retreating troops were never attacked during the entire month of their retreat, though almost surrounded the whole time by far superior numbers. There is evidence to show that they were held in absolute dread by the four powerful and victorious armies, who had been called from as many countries by Pius IX. for their destruction.

## CHAPTER XXI.

ENTRY of the French army into Rome.—Indignation expressed by the people.—The Constitution of the Roman Republic.—Protest of the Secretary of the Assembly.—Proclamations and measures of General Oudinot, &c.

The following is a translation from the official paper: the Roman Monitore, of July 3d:—

“July 3d, nine o'clock, A. M. Several patrols of French gendarmes and other cavalry, enter the city. The people either appear indifferent, or express contempt in their countenances.

“Ten o'clock. Several officers of the General's staff are seen proceeding to the French Ambassador's.

“Five P. M. Two battalions of French troops enter Rome, and take different posts, most of them at charging step, and with fixed bayonets, without meeting any obstacle, the posts being vacant. The people raised several outcries, always ending with, ‘Death to Pius IX.! Long live the Republic! Away with the foreigners!’”

“Half past five. A battalion of our artillery pass through the Corso, retiring to their quarters. Tumultuous applause—the ladies waving their handkerchiefs from the windows, and applaud our brave youth. A most imposing scene occurred in the middle of the Piazza Colonna. From a throng of people a cry arose of Viva la Republica Romana! Huzza for our artillery! Death

to the foreigners? Hats were raised with shouts of applause. When the halt was made, a voice cried, '*Via tutti!*' (away, all of you;) and the square was vacated. The French saw all this from the top of the post office, and expressed astonishment.

"Six o'clock, P. M. The French troops entered, with Oudinot and his staff—the streets were empty—all the windows shut—the march proceeded irregularly—many horsemen fell from their horses. On Oudinot's entering the Corso, where was a great crowd, the people cried out, amidst howlings and hisses, 'Death to Pius IX.! Death to the priests! Viva la Repubblica Romana! Viva poor Italy! Death to Cardinal Oudinot!' Several French companies then advanced at the charging step, the howlings continued, and cries of 'Away with the strangers! Death to the Croats of France! Death to the Pope's soldiers!' Oudinot arrived at the coffee house of the Fine Arts, stopped, and had the Italian flag taken down. When he reached the Piazza Colonna, the crowd was immense; and some of his suite exhorted Oudinot to stop, and give a signal to a piquette to come and clear the way; but Oudinot advances, seems to put somebody under guard; and endeavors to disperse the crowd by prancing his horse. The cries were immense.

"Seven o'clock. A numerous assemblage take the flag from the Caffé Nuovo, and proceed along the Corso, with the usual cries, to the Piazza Colonna. Then a French detachment actively charges the unarmed people with the bayonet. Ten or twelve soldiers seize the flag. The crowd disperses, with the usual cries.

"Not a shop is to be seen open. As evening approaches, the city is dark. Wherever a French officer enters a coffee-house, all present rise and leave it."

The French Governor invited General Bartolucci to take the command of "the Roman army." He refused. General Galletti was requested to assume the office of Minister of the Interior : but that patriotic citizen replied : " I serve only constituted governments and the laws. I see as yet neither laws nor government. I must first be informed what government I am called on to serve, and what laws I am expected to obey ; and then I will answer you ! "

The Municipality remained in existence, and that was the only relique of the Republic.

And the aspect which the city had now assumed, was such as might alone prove, in the most open and incontestible manner, that the French did not believe a word of their own declarations, concerning their friendly and generous intentions on the one hand, or of the favorable disposition of the people on the other. Rome was a city guarded in the most cautious and suspicious manner. The Pincian Hill, which commands it, was converted into a citadel, being occupied by troops, under strict discipline ; and the beautiful Piazza del Popolo, at its foot, had two cannon pointed down the Corso, (the principal street of the city, which there has its commencement,) ready to sweep it, for a mile or more, between rows of churches, palaces and other fine edifices. Troops were so stationed about the city, as to be prepared at any moment for action ; and every indication showed that an insurrection was apprehended every hour. When evening arrived, the retreat (or movement to drive the people to their homes) was performed by a general marching of the troops. A battalion moved from the Piazza Colonna, and proceeded down the Corso, preceded by a line of sharpshooters, at marked dis-

tances, who formed lines across the street, and began to drive the crowd before them with fixed bayonets. The people, indignant at this sight, moved slowly ; when the soldiers, by touching some of them with their weapons, hastened them on. "The disarming," by the French, as has justly been said, "with the state of siege continued, the arrangement made of the troops, the isolated condition in which the French were left, were enough to prove to Oudinot that he was not well received in Rome."

The "*Monitore Romano*," the official Gazette of the government, regularly published full reports of the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly until after the entrance of the French ; and they were distinguished by courage and firmness, and greater calmness and good order than are sometimes seen in the French Assembly, the British House of Commons and the Congress of the United States, in a state of peace. It is a remarkable fact, that the *Monitore* of July 3d, 1849, which contains an account of the entry of General Oudinot, publishes also the *Constitution of the Republic*, which, as it states, was that day "at noon published from the Capitol, amidst the applauses of the people!" We give a few of its features :—

"Article 1st. The sovereignty is by eternal right in the people. They are constituted into a democratic Republic.

"Art. 2d. Refuses, all titles of nobility, and privileges of birth and caste.

"Art. 3d. Promises laws to meliorate the moral and physical condition of all classes.

"Art 4th. Declares brotherhood towards all nations, and the support of Italian nationality.



“ Art. 7th. The exercise of civil and political rights shall not depend on religious belief.

“ Art. 8th. The head of the Catholic Church shall have, from the Republic, all necessary guaranties for the independent exercise of the spiritual power.

On the fourth of July a scene occurred in the Campidoglio, or Capitol of Rome, quite appropriate to the day, and well adapted to close the proceedings of that enlightened Assembly which had held its dignified deliberations in that edifice. Signor Filopanti observed a regiment of French troops marching along the Corso towards the Capitol, and was struck with the suspicion that they were going to visit the hall of the Assembly. He followed. At the foot of the broad marble staircase, which in modern times had been laid up the side of the Capitoline Hill where the Gauls formerly climbed, to surprize the citadel, the troops ascended, and formed a line in the square on the summit, where the traveller stops to admire the trophies and the emblems of the conquests of ancient Rome, sculptured in marble. He mingled with the soldiers, and mounted with them the long flight of steps, recalling the circumstances of that event, so celebrated in history, anticipating the object of the enemy. Two companies were soon detached, and marched towards the entrance of the Capitol : Signor Filopanti accompanied them, and entered the Hall of the Constituent Assembly mingled with the soldiers. It was found vacant. Signor Filopanti put on his tri-colored sash, (the badge of a member,) advanced towards their commander, and expressed, in French, his intention to make a formal protest. Such a step required more than ordinary boldness : for it was a matter of notoriety, that the French had thrown

several of the soldiers of the University regiment out of the windows in cold blood, and had hung others of their prisoners, to the disgrace of Republicanism, the French people and mankind ; and there was no security for better treatment in the present case. But the officer before him, Colonel Lamarre, was a man of humanity and liberality, and courteously assented, when Signor Filopanti presented him with the following documents, in Italian and French :

“ ROMAN REPUBLIC.

“ In the name of God, and the People of the Roman States, who freely elected their representatives, according to Fifth Article of the Constitution of the French Republic, the Roman Constituent Assembly protests, in the presence of Italy, France and the civilized world, against the violent invasion of the French arms in their residence, perpetrated on the 4th of July, 1849, at the hour of seven in the evening.

“ Given on the day and at the hour above named.

“ QUIRICO FILOPANTI.

“ Secretary of the Second Section.”

“ IN THE NAME OF GOD AND THE PEOPLE.

“ We, the undersigned, solemnly protest against the violence which has overthrown the Roman Republic, which was established by the free wishes of the people, sustained in perfect civil order and made sacred by the blood shed in its defence. Our sword, consecrated to the Republic, we lay down, declaring that we will not serve any despotic government, imposed on the noble Roman people by French arms.

“ Rome, July 3d, 1849.”

(The signatures follow.)

And now the French were masters of Rome, the Republic, which they had pretended was an intrusive government, forced on the people, had been suppressed, and those they called "foreigners" had departed, with many of the citizens most opposed to the victorious enemy. From that time, then, order, tranquillity, public content and even general joy were to be expected. But what was the result? What is the present state of things? This is a very important part of the history; and there are ample and authentic particulars at hand, for the use of the writer. Brevity allows but a few pages: and these must be devoted to facts, while the deductions and reflections must be in a great measure left to the reader.

General Rostolan was first appointed by General Oudinot, Governor of Rome, and a superior officer was made head of the police. They needed assistants and officers of various kinds: but though they went about, as has been remarked, like mendicants, they could not find Romans willing to join them, and remained isolated in the midst of the city. Then was the time for the *citizens, their friends*, whom they had been sent to protect, to rise in a body and receive them with open arms and acclamations of gratitude. But not a man appeared!

"Not a single man nor a single house, (as we are assured, by an eye-witness\* who remained a short time,) appeared friendly to the French army, on their entrance nor during their stay in Rome; and I might almost say, that the ground burned under their feet. There was not one of the people who went near the soldiers; and not a civil or military officer consented to

\* Documenti della Guerra Santa d'Italia, vol. 3, p. 122.

enter their service. The Municipality promised to remain at their post, until honor should forbid; and accordingly, a few days after, they resigned in a body. General Galletti, of the Carabinieri, magnanimously refused the office of Minister of the Interior, which Oudinot offered him; and General Roselli resigned, and was followed by his whole staff, who also solemnly protested against the foreign invader. Who then are the men who adhered to the laws dictated by the French conqueror? A few clerks in the civil offices, and among the troops between six and seven hundred soldiers, took service, because seduced by Colonel De Pasquali, a man of the worst character, of whose faithfulness very heavy suspicions had been previously entertained. He re-acted in Rome the part of Marescotto in Bologna, feigning a love of liberty while he was a vile slave, bought by the gold of tyranny.

Bloodshed occurred in several cases after the entrance of the French, because the soldiers tried to irritate the people to make resistance, while friends of the Pope and priests insulted them by applauding the enemy, and reviling and cursing the government which they had overthrown. The French troops tore the Republican flag in pieces, forced their way into the coffee houses and meetings of the People's Society, and pulled down bonnets and other Republican signs. They had already shed the blood of the people, who, in the utmost confidence and friendliness, had extended to them their hands. On the 15th, when the Triumvirate of Cardinals entered, no more was seen of any flags except the Pope's, "that signal of grief, tyranny and murder."

The following documents and passages from different publica-

tions, which we translate from official papers and other unquestionable sources, will enable the reader to judge for himself of the state of things introduced into Rome and the States of the Church, after the capture of the city by the French army.

PROCLAMATION OF GENERAL UDINOT, FOURTH OF JULY, 1849 :

"Inhabitants of Rome. The army sent by the French Republic into your territory, has for its object the restoration of order and security !

"A factious or misled minority has constrained us to assault your walls. We are masters of the place, we shall fulfil our mission.

"Amongst the proofs of sympathy which have met us, some hostile vociferations have been heard, and have forced us immediately to repress them.

"Good citizens and true friends of liberty, take confidence. Enemies of order and society, be ye well informed, that if, oppressive manifestations, provoked by a foreign faction, shall be renewed, they will be punished with all vigor.

"To give positive guaranties to public security, I take the following precautions :

"Provisionally, all powers are concentrated in the hands of the military authority. They will soon demand the assembling of the Municipality.

"The Assembly and the Government, whose violent and oppressive government was begun with ingratitude and ended with a cry to arms against a nation friendly to the Roman people, no longer exist.

"The political circles and associations are prohibited.

"Every individual, not military, who may be arrested bearing arms either publicly or secretly, will be brought before the council of war.

"The same shall be done to every military man using his arms.

"Every publication by printing and every placard not permitted by the military authority, are provisionally prohibited.

"Crimes against persons and property will be tried by military tribunals.

"The General of division Rostolan is appointed Governor of Rome.

"Brigadier General Sauvan is appointed Commander of the place.

"Colonel Sol is appointed town Major.

"OUDINOT DE REGGIO,  
"General Commander-in-Chief."

"PROCLAMATION OF GENERAL ROSTOLAN, JULY FIFTH.

(Extracts.)

"1. Every assembly in the public ways is interdicted, and shall be dispersed by force.

"2. The retreat shall be sounded at nine P. M. All passing through the streets will cease at half-past nine. At that hour the place of meeting will be closed.

"3. The political circles, which, notwithstanding the proclamation of the General-in-Chief, have not yet been closed, shall be by force; and the proprietors and managers of the places where they existed will be prosecuted with all vigor.

"4. Every act of violence, every insult against our soldiers, and the persons who have friendly relations with them, and

every impediment to the provisioning, will be immediately punished in an exemplary manner.

"5. Physicians and public functionaries, however, may pass freely about the city, but be furnished with a permit signed by the military authority, and must be accompanied, from station to station, to the places where they ought to go. (The sick, then, could not send for aid.)

"6. Inhabitants of Rome! You desire order—I know how to secure it to you. Those who dreamed of prolonging your oppression, will find in me an inflexible severity.

"ROSTOLAN, General of division,

"Rome, July 5th."

"Governor of Rome.

The Civic Guard was dissolved by Oudinot, by proclamation, on the sixth of July, and ordered to be immediately reorganized by Rostolan, on its primitive basis. (But it has never been reorganized.)

On the same day Oudinot proclaimed the general disarming of the inhabitants, by Rostolan, who the next day appointed six places where all arms and munitions must be delivered up to officers of French artillery, to begin the next morning, and to be completed in forty-eight hours. He added, that from six A. M. on the tenth, every one found with any kind of arms, would be taken before the military tribunals, also owners or occupants of houses where arms might be found; every person refusing to give up arms should be compelled *militarily*. Finally—

"The French soldiers who guard the city gates shall minutely examine persons, coaches, and hired beasts going out of Rome, &c."

On the eighth Oudinot proclaimed, that "the banner and insignia of a government which has ceased to exist; as also the red cap—ensigns of anarchy and terror—shall disappear in twenty-four hours. The commanders of the various corps stationed in the quarters of Rome, are charged with the execution of this decree."

Here, as before, we find direct and strong evidence of falsehood of the pretensions and charges made against the Republicans by the French, and of the reliance placed by the latter on the power of pure defamation and false pretences. The 'minority' spoken of in the first proclamation, after keeping out forty thousand Frenchmen for a month, driving home eighteen thousand Neapolitans, and keeping in check twenty or thirty thousand Austrians, were still strong enough, even after the departure of Garibaldi's troops and some others, to require so many and so severe measures as these; and proof is given by the documents, that the 'order and security' under the French were vastly inferior to those under the Republic.

Even on the twelfth, a proclamation declared that "many persons move about Rome in military uniforms which they had no right to wear:" yet, on the fifteenth, a solemn *Te Deum* was performed in the Vatican Church, and the cantonments, to thank God "for the success of the French arms in Italy, and the re-establishment of the pontifical authority."

On the other hand, "all the journals" were suppressed on the fourteenth, notwithstanding the "order and security" so successfully restored; every journal appearing being made liable to sequestration, "and its publishers prosecuted with the vigor of the laws." On the eighteenth, "every collection of more than



five persons, especially at night," was declared prohibited, because "in the hours of night numerous meetings of people traversed the streets, in violation of the laws;" and the armed force was declared to have "particular instructions."

Between the eighteenth and twenty-third of August, it is evident that the government were very fearful of an insurrection of the people, for the following decree was issued:—

"The authority orders, that the venders of sulphureous powders and munitions cannot keep more than twenty pounds of the former, and must not sell more than one pound to one person. The sellers shall keep a book, in which they shall note the names and dwellings of persons to whom powders shall be sent, and the quantity sold. They shall require them to show their shooting licence, before selling the powder.

On the twenty-third of August a commission was instituted by the Cardinals, to try offences committed before the capture of the city, and not complained of. The Cardinals and their retinue of papal oppressors then began once more to be at home. The people were now disarmed; the French soldiers, with their deadly arms, stood ready at every corner, under "particular instructions;" five men, or even women or children, meeting in any spot, were victims for the Dominicans, now restored to their beloved Inquisition; and a finger moved in any direction would set all parties at their old and favorite employment.

## CHAPTER XXII.

**GARIBALDI's Retreat commenced.—His wife.—Col. Forbes.—Terni.—The Austrian and French in pursuit.—Todi.—Orvieto, Arezzo, Cisterna, Santangelo in Vado.—San Marino, Sortie, Cesenatico.—Embarcation. Dispersion.—Results.**

And now we turn to one of the most interesting episodes of the noble tragedy of the Roman Republic, in which many of the boldest and most active defenders of the city, scorning the enemy who had triumphed by falsehood and treachery, departed from the walls with their arms in their hands, led by their intrepid chief, to encounter the desperate fortunes offered them, by a long and hazardous retreat of several weeks, before the far superior forces of their combined enemies.

Garibaldi proceeded from Rome towards Terni, with about four thousand men; and this was the last intelligence received of him in America for several weeks, although his fate excited the liveliest interest in this country. The following brief history of his remarkable retreat has been collected for this work from the most authentic sources; and most of the particulars have never before been published. The reader may perhaps find interest in comparing it with other celebrated retreats on record, particularly with respect to the cause involved.

In vain General Garibaldi endeavored to leave his heroic wife

behind him : arguments, objections, and even attempts to depart without her knowledge, all failed. Although in a dangerous state of health, she persisted in accompanying her husband. At the request of the author, General Garibaldi has written her biography, which has been translated for this work, but cannot be admitted for want of room. It is intended to be soon published, as the first of a series of *Biographical Sketches of Garibaldi's late Companions in arms*, which he kindly consented to allow the author to publish.

Anna Garibaldi was a native of the Province of St. Catherine's, in Brazil ; and married the man who has so highly distinguished that name, while he was Naval Commander of the Republic of Rio Grande. During several years she accompanied him in some of his most hazardous expeditions, and always showed a degree of activity, intrepidity, skill, resource, and patience, in the greatest dangers of battle, hardships, and captivity, equalled only by her kindness, generosity, devotion to her husband and little children ; and, in the domestic scene, which was her favorite place, that feminine softness which, by a seeming inconsistency, no less distinguished her character. Abundant proof of all this will be found in her biography, whenever it shall appear.

Garibaldi proceeded northward, to meet Colonel Forbes, who remained at Terni and the neighborhood, where he had long been watching and checking the advance of a strong corps of Austrians. This officer has since become extensively known in the United States, as a public advocate of the Italian cause, having come, at the request of Mazzini and his fellow triumvirs, to make Americans acquainted with their objects, principles, actions, and intentions.

Colonel Hugh Forbes, the only Englishman who bore any important command in the late Italian struggle, for several years bore a commission in the British army. About eight years ago, he took up his residence at Sienna, in Tuscany, for the education, of his children, and afterwards had the direction of a Mining Company in the neighboring mountains.

He became a co-operator with the patriots around him; and, when the late revolution commenced, he repaired to the Venetian provinces, when the defence of the Bridge of the Priube, over the River Piave, was confided to him, on the north-eastern frontier of Italy. This position he maintained, with eight pieces of artillery and about two thousand five hundred men, against fifteen thousand Austrians, under General Nugent, also an Englishman. The fighting continued almost without intermission for nine days and nights: and it was only abandoned in obedience to superior orders, after another corps of eight thousand had crossed the Piave about twenty miles higher up, and were advancing so as to cut off his retreat.

He was then attached to the Military Council of the Volunteers; and during that time led the attack upon the Austrians at the Lock of the Sile, which it was necessary to cross *in single file* on a single plank, (only one gate of the lock being shut,) the enemy being posted in the houses and gardens at fifty yards distant, and keeping up a very hot fire. The enemy was dislodged at the point of the bayonet, after part of the patriot force had crossed the top of the lock gate, and had re-formed under the fire of the Austrians. The loss on both sides was very severe.

After the capitulation of Treviso, he repaired to Ferrara,



*H. Forbes.*



where he was sent as Commissary of the Republic of Venice, to collect and re-organize the corps which had capitulated. After that he returned to his family, in Tuscany, but was immediately recalled into active service, having been elected with Guerrazzi and others, on a committee of war. Being elected by the people, they found themselves in opposition to the government; and, the city of Leghorn having declared itself for the Constitution, he was called thither by the municipality, to see to the proper means of defence.

There the patriots gained a success, by the use of pacific means, alike creditable to their intelligence and humanity, and to the character of the Italian people.

Colonel Forbes was sent to Sicily to aid in the defence: but diplomacy and treachery, in union, prevailed; and he left the island when he found all exertions vain. When the Roman Republic was threatened by its enemies, he repaired to the capital, and was invested with a command in the provinces, and was engaged in watching and opposing the Austrians on the frontier of Naples, and in fostering the patriotism of the people, until the close of the struggle. The family of Colonel Forbes having been driven from Sienna, some time after this, by a mob excited by the Jesuits, took refuge in Florence, hoping to find British protection under the British ambassador, who however allowed them to be *taken as hostages*, refusing them, even the little children in their mother's arms, any protection. A greater insult or injury could hardly be offered to any nation, than the taking of a family *as hostages*—under the eyes of their ambassador: yet could they obtain no redress, because their father belonged to a party somewhat more liberal than that of Lord Palmerston.

It is by affording the protection of the American flag in such cases, that our Republic displays its superiority over the occasional inhumanity and barbarity of the corrupt British diplomacy. If Colonel Forbes had been in arms against the Austrians, and could not profit by his nationality, HIS FAMILY *ought not to be taken as hostages in Tuscany*. Mrs. Forbes was taken, and by force, made to go on foot through the streets by the police. Had such insults been offered to one of our citizens, the whole country would have insisted upon reparation : but Lord Palmerston has never taken any notice of the case.

Colonel Forbes, while engaged, as before mentioned, on the Roman frontier, on one occasion nearly succeeded in capturing Cardinal Marini, who, like several of his brethren, was endeavoring to excite the mountaineers against the Republic, although it was then the government, solemnly chosen by the people and in orderly operation. He nearly surrounded him : but the Cardinal escaped on foot, with two mules loaded with papers. Some few articles, however, were found ; and, among the rest, his *throne*, which was quite splendid. A woman was taken prisoner, whose evident character and relations cast the strongest obloquy upon the morality of that ecclesiastic—although some correspondence, which fell into the hands of her captors, proved equal infamy against one of his own fellow-cardinals in a neighboring district, while he was cautioned not again to compromise their cause, by his customary conduct. A letter was found from the Austrian General Lichtenstein, in answer to a request of his for two regiments of Tyrolese riflemen, to encourage his operations in raising a *rebellion* against the Republican government.

At length news was brought to Terni, that Rome could hold



out no longer, and that Garibaldi was on his march for that city.

The condition of the troops at Terni was now very trying ; and a swarm of priests and their friends coming in, with all sorts of false reports and insidious suggestions, did their utmost to dishearten them and induce them to disband. The long train of reverses which the cause of Italy had suffered, the combination of all Europe against it, the success of the combined enemies against the capitol and the far superior forces now threatening them from all sides, and beginning to close in, with no object to direct their attention, were enough to discourage common men, especially as there seemed nothing left to fight for. But with the desperate hope of reaching Venice, officers and men resolutely set their faces against their enemies, who however opened the way before them.

They first marched westward, and then turned north to Todi, where they occupied several convents. Garibaldi proceeded towards Orvieto, leaving Forbes to await a convoy, of which he lost a portion by the French, who pressed in on his left. At Orvieto the French again cut off a few detached parties on the rear and left : but they seemed not disposed for a general engagement, for Garibaldi halted and waited for an attack, a day and a half, and then continued his march, the Austrians still hanging on his right and front.

At Castelletto the Romans arrived opportunely : for they found preparations made for the reception of a detachment of Austrians, who had sent on to order rations, which the patriots enjoyed in their place.

Arezzo was found occupied by Austrian troops, but the muni-

cipality sent provisions to Garibaldi, though the enemy, having possession of the ramparts, would not allow them to enter. After one day's delay in the vicinity, they marched on. Firing was afterwards heard, which seemed to indicate a fight in the city.

During the entire march through the Tuscan territory, the Republican troops were treated in a friendly manner by the inhabitants. They next reached Cisterna, in the Pope's dominions, and occupied an excellent position, having two neighboring convents for their wings, a descent in front and a narrow valley in the rear for a convenient retreat. The whole of the Republican forces were now about two thousand, three hundred men. The Austrians were joined by another corps, and made a serious menace, nearly surrounding them. A well conducted retreat was made that night; and it was afterwards found, that a considerable body of Austrians on the way, instead of attacking the patriots, concealed themselves.

At Santangelo in Vado the Romans arrived just in season to anticipate a corps of Austrians from Urbino, who took a strong position on a neighboring hill. Garibaldi having placed patrols and sentinels in the town, pitched his camp in a very advantageous spot, having a deep road in front, with a steep bank, like a trench, on the left of the town. On his left was a hillock, which overlooked the neighboring country. The Appenines, in the rear, offered every facility for a retreat to higher and higher positions, in case of need. The enemy, as usual, showed no inclination to attack the main body: but, by a stratagem, they gained a more serious advantage in the town than any other of which they had been able to boast. A cavalry patrol of sixty

men were attacked by a body of Austrians, who fled before them, and were pursued, drawn into an ambush and never returned. Soon after the Austrians suddenly entered the town in force, by stealth, on that side, which had thus been left unguarded, cutting off all they met. A soldier, badly cut in the neck, carried the news to camp; and the enemy were soon driven from the town, not venturing an engagement, as on other occasions. Colonel Forbes that day lost four officers of his staff.

At Borgo (near San Sepolero), Garibaldi chose a good position on rising ground, crossed by a road. San Marino was near by; the town being built on a mountain rising perpendicularly on two sides, and accessible only by steep roads on the remaining two, the suburbs or Borgo lying at the bottom. Garibaldi went forward to make arrangements with the authorities to enter, and was detained about two hours. The Austrians soon began to press upon the Republicans, and made their first serious show of an attack. The troops occupied one of the ridges of that mountainous region, the enemy being near and numerous. Signora Garibaldi then exerted herself, as she had before done on the march, mounting her horse and riding in among the men, encouraging them in energetic terms.

The troops were afterwards drawn up on the broken rising ground at the foot of San Marino, while the Austrians occupied numerous points all round the abrupt hill, with strong corps. All day, July 31st, an attack was expected; but, towards evening an Austrian Aid-de-Camp presented himself, with terms offered by his commander, viz., liberty for all the troops to depart for home, after depositing their arms with the authorities of San Marino. But as no security could be obtained by Gari-

baldi and officers for the lives of about twenty-five Frenchmen in the files, who had fought in Rome, and would be liable to military execution, they were declined. 10,000 more Austrians were known to be on their march, and rapidly approaching, so that there was no time for negotiations. A council was held by the officers; and it was decided that every man should be left free to make his own choice for the future, while the leaders expressed their resolution to attempt to force their way through the enemy at midnight. Others declared their determination to follow, among whom were Signora Garibaldi, the chaplain Hugo Bassi, Cicerouacchio (the "Roman Tribune,") and his two sons, one scarcely fifteen years of age.

Americans have often been told that San Marino is an ancient republic, and that its existence proves that Popery is favorable to popular governments. It might be expected that some sympathy would be shown by the people to fellow-republicans; but among the 4,500 inhabitants which that little territory of seventeen square miles contained in 1849, little spirit of the kind was expressed. In fact there is nothing in San Marino but the name, to distinguish the people from the most ignorant and superstitious subjects of the Pope, whose priests exercise the same control there as in the country around. Garibaldi hoped to elude the enemy by following the mountains, and somehow or other to get to Venice or Hungary.

The soldiers were not informed of the intended sortie until the hour arrived. About midnight, therefore, the leaders mounted their horses, gave an invitation to their troops to follow, and rode down the hill, taking three different routes towards the west; Garibaldi at the head of one small body,

Forbes leading another, and the commander of the cavalry his troop of horse. Orders were given not to speak a word nor to fire a shot; and the Austrian outposts soon after heard their approach, and, receiving no answer to their challenge, gave way for a moment, and then fired—with how much effect has never been ascertained. The Romans hastened on, leaving the enemy to return each others' fire, each body mistaking another for the Republicans. Garibaldi and Forbes soon found themselves at the foot of the hill, and on broken ground, but free from the enemy, and separated from each other. The latter discovered, after some time, that his guide was leading him round the foot of the hill, instead of away from it, so that he was obliged to change his course at hazard. In the haste of starting, Bassi had joined his party. Of the cavalry, only three or four men have ever been heard from since that night, almost all having fallen. So numerous were the Austrian posts, that it is wonderful how they could have been avoided by any of the fugitives.

In the morning Colonel Forbes told his guide that he should leave the road they were taking, to avoid parties of the enemy who must be numerous in the vicinity. He then struck into the fields; and some of the men who chose to continue that course were cut off a few minutes after. About one o'clock he was happy to rejoin Garibaldi, with whom he continued the retreat by the most obscure ways towards the coast of the Adriatic. By the kindness of persons who volunteered to give them information they eluded discovery, and arrived at the little port of Cesenatico about nine P. M., which was almost the only town in the neighbourhood not occupied by a superior Austrian force. There they surprized one of their convoys, with

a welcome supply of shoes and other necessities, and seized thirteen fishing boats, which Garibaldi ordered to be prepared to embark his troops. He began to make all arrangements for a voyage ; set the bakers of the town at work to make bread, and others at different labors, while Forbes, entrusted with the outposts, immediately took all the soldiers (now about 300), formed a double line of sentinels around the place, on the land side, and effectually prevented any communication of the news to the various enemy's corps, which lay at short distances in the nearest towns. Barricades were made in the roads, &c.

The provisions were shipped as soon as they could be prepared, and the soldiers and prisoners embarked. But now it was found that the wind blew too strong into the little harbor, to allow a single boat to get out. Garibaldi, as expert and resolute, on water as on land, was soon seen in a row-boat, toiling to the mouth of the port, where he dropped an anchor, and by a cable began to draw out one of the fishing vessels. But the wind was strong and the cable parted. Another attempt was made, and a third, when day advanced so fast, that it seemed impossible to leave the port before the arrival of the enemy. But success came at last ; the cable held, and all the boats were successively set at large at sea. At eight o'clock the fugitives departed ; and at nine a corps of Austrians stood on the beach. They now steered northward for Venice, hoping to elude the Austrian squadron, cruising off that city, and to arrive before its reduction by the besiegers.

The little fleet steered for the Venitian coast, where they would have been able to land secure from the enemy, and within a short distance of Venice. But near night, after sailing all day

with a fair wind, they discovered the blockading squadron, and then changed their course, pursued by the enemy. The boats were scattered in the darkness. Garibaldi's and another in his company reached the land, a little south of the mouth of the Po, with difficulty, near Comarchio. The men, who were about forty, separated and scattered, in couples and larger parties. Among them were his wife, whose strength was now exhausted, Hugo Bassi, Cicerouacchio and his two sons. Garibaldi's attention was occupied by the care of the first, whom he buried two days after in a solitary spot in that low, level, desolate region, and then pursued his way, on foot and in disguise, with only one companion, encountering many hazards, until he reached the western coast of Italy and sailed for Spezzia. Cicerouacchio and his sons have never since been heard from. His pious, eloquent, philanthropic and heroic Chaplain, Bassi, August 4th, fell into the hands of the Austrians near Ravenna, who took him to Bologna, and sentenced him to be shot—orders having been sent to all the land officers to execute immediately all the principal patriots whom they could capture. A Cardinal Legate however had just arrived from Rome, with supreme power, and he interposed, demanding that he should first be desecrated. Taking him from the less savage Croats, he had the incredible barbarity of having the skin cut from his hands, forehead and crown, (which he pretended had been made sacred by the wafer, the chrism and the tonsure,) and then gave him back to his executioners, who led him out and shot him. If French Republicans with their "Liberty, equality and fraternity," and the British nation with their claims of civilization and humanity, but with Lord Palmerston to counteract their principles by his secret operations, can stand

quietly by, and allow such inhumanity and such barbarity, to pass without indignant remonstrance, it is to be hoped that American citizens, at least, may view the subject in its proper light, and with feelings appropriate to their age and their country.

Three of the boats of the Romans were sunk by the shot of the Austrian ships, and all on board were drowned. One hundred and sixty men were made prisoners, among whom were Colonel Forbes and thirteen men in his boat, which was delayed by getting on a shoal, and was unable to escape or offer resistance, being between two brigs, whose boats were lowered. The prisoners were taken to Pola, in Istria, and confined in the castle as Venitian prisoners, taken breaking the blockade. They were liberated a few weeks after, and after the fall of Venice. Colonel Forbes on joining his family in Florence, had a guard put over him in his house; and, on going to Genoa, was imprisoned by order of the Piedmontese Minister. Being released in December, he visited Switzerland, where he complied with the request of Mazzini and his associates of the Roman Triumvirate, to come to the United States, to make known their acts, plans and objects. Since his arrival he has been actively engaged in that important service; and by his intelligence, zeal and devotion to the cause, has done much to diffuse correct knowledge, and to excite an interest in its favor.

Garibaldi, on reaching Genoa, was arrested by the Royalist Ministry, and sent to Tunis, where, by French influence he was denied a landing. After seeking a quiet retreat in Sardinia, and Tangier, Garibaldi came to New York, in June 1850, in feeble health. Declining public honors he sought retirement, and his health is now restored.



## CHAPTER XXIII.

**MEASURES** of the Government of Rome, indicating suspicion and fear.—  
Siege of a Nunnery.—The Pope's Letter to the Romans.—Old Spies  
restored.—Books condemned.—Chronicles of Despotism in Italy.

It appears, that on the 31st of August, the city of Rome was as far as ever from submitting willingly to that quietness and good order, which the French had come so far and so kindly to "restore." Although now almost two months master of the city, a decree was published by General Rostolan, then the general commanding chief, addressed to the entire "army of the Mediterranean," declaring that wishing to "maintain the public tranquillity, and to consolidate the continuation of the arrangements adopted at the entrance of the French forces into Rome, the officers of the public force shall prevent assemblies of any description, any demonstration whatever, and that none of the orders published shall be disobeyed under any pretext. Any opposition or resistance to them will be punished," &c.

On the same day a "Notification" also appeared, in ten articles, declaring the "Regulation" of June 9th, 1841, in force, and also that of July 9th last, in full force. These require all persons not dwelling in Rome, but then in the city, to appear before the authorities, to be examined, and furnished with permits to remain or sent home. Innkeepers were required to

bring in the names of all such lodging with them, even for a night, and gratuitously ; and punishment was threatened for disobedience.

“ A small minority of foreigners,” it would seem, at that time, existed in the city ; and, if they were the cause of the continued presence of the French army, and the vigorous and expensive system with which the citizens were oppressed, why did not the state of Rome then demand the armed interference of England, or some other power, to deliver it ? How could the French refuse to admit the justice and force of such a claim, and refuse to aid in the restoration to the Romans of freedom of action, without adding to their numerous self-contradictions ?

#### SIEGE OF A NUNNERY.

The Republican government, having been made acquainted with all the infamous practices among the monks of La Maddalena (whom Pius IX. had put in the place of the canons of Santo Spirito), and certain Jesuit nuns, who had the charge of educating the female foundlings in their establishment, turned them both out. The Pope, however, ordered the monks to be restored, that they might again tyrannize over those unhappy women.

On hearing this order, the nuns (who are in number three or four hundred, and of all ages,) exclaimed with one voice ; “ We will not again be the priests’ concubines ! ” They then began to barricade the doors, so that nobody could enter, and going to the conservatorio, armed themselves with knives, forks, spits, and everything else they could find. They displayed a red flag on the roof of the building, cried, “ Viva la Republica,” and

defended themselves against all attacks for two days. But the third day a whole French battalion broke in the doors and entered with charged bayonets, threatening the lives of the nuns, who fled up the staircases, through the corridors, and hid themselves under beds, in wardrobes, &c. The soldiers remained on guard all night in the dormitories, while some of the nuns were confined in lunatics' cells.

In October, robberies and assassinations prevailed in Rome, although the French still held it in a state of siege.

On the twelfth of September, 1849, appeared the letter of "Pope Pius IX. to his most beloved subjects."

It was dated at Portici, near Naples, in the fourth year of his pontificate, and is of considerable length, and begins thus. The reader will be able, after what has preceded, to form a pretty correct idea of the number and directness of the falsehoods which it contains; and, if he will contemplate them for a moment, he may impress his mind with some clear views of the nature of Popery, Popes, and their adherents.

POPE PIUS IX. TO HIS MOST BELOVED SUBJECTS.

The valorous arms of the Catholic powers, which, with true filial devotion, have concurred to our full liberty and independence in the government of the temporal dominions of the Holy See, had hardly liberated you from that tyranny which, in a thousand ways, oppressed you, ere we not only raised hymns of gratitude to the Lord, but we were anxious to send to Rome a governing commission, in the persons of three respectable Cardinals, in our name to take up the reins of the civil government; and, with the aid of a ministry, consult as far as circumstances

shall require, to take such measures as shall be necessary for the time for good order, for security and public tranquillity. And with equal solicitude we are engaged in establishing the basis of those institutions, which, while they will secure to you, most beloved subjects, the desirable privileges, will at the same time secure our independence, which we are under obligations to preserve intact in the presence of the universe. Therefore, for the comfort of the good, who so well deserve our special benevolence and consideration, for the undeceiving of the evil and the deceived, who took advantage of our concessions to destroy social order, and for the purpose of testifying to all, that we have at heart only your true and solid prosperity, of our own motion and certain knowledge, and in the plenitude of our authority, we have resolved to make the following dispositions :—

Article 1st. A Council of State is instituted in Rome. They will give their opinion on proposed laws, before they are submitted to sovereign sanction ; examine all the graver questions of every branch of the public administration, on which their opinion shall be requested by us and our ministers.

An appropriate law will establish the quality and number of the councillors, their duties, prerogatives, rules of discussion, and whatever else may be necessary.

“The Governing Commission of State,” consisting of Cardinals Della Genga, Vannicelli and Altieri, published “a notification” on the 18th of September, making known the arrangements promised in the preceding address from the Pope. They proclaim :—

1st. Pardon for the punishment deserved by those who took part in the revolution : but from these were excepted

The members of the provisional government; those of the members of the Constituent Assembly who took part in the deliberations; of the Triumvirate and the government of the Republic; the heads of the military corps; all who had received the amnesty and afterwards participated in acts against the Holy See; and those who are responsible for criminal offences. Officers, however, who have not given satisfaction are not to expect to retain their offices.

It would be easier perhaps to enumerate those whom such an amnesty includes than excludes; and the Romans have well exclaimed at the immense numbers of meritorious men driven from their country, by the threats of horrible persecutions, as a true, though awful testimony of the nature of Popery. And to us, as well as to all mankind, it presents a more instructive lesson, by coming in such striking contrast with the magnanimity and humanity of the Republican government even towards its bitterest enemies. And let us once more contemplate the latter, while we again invite and challenge its opponents, to name a case of persecution or even proscription during their ascendancy.

## PROHIBITION OF BOOKS.

The Pope, on the sixth of January, added to his disgrace, by repeating the puerile and barbarous old practice of prohibiting books. This is one of the contemptible but atrocious features of the Popish system, which ought to be duly treated in the United States. A man of education and professing liberality, sustaining this practice, ought to be plainly informed, that such self-contradiction can never be regarded with respect in America.

The books then condemned by the childish Pope, Pius IX.

are mentioned before. Some readers may be curious to see a specimen of the language in which the "decree" is written. We therefore give the concluding lines, as a specimen of Popish Latin.

The books condemned are: "The Five Wounds of the Holy Church, Serbatis' Constitution according to Social Justice, Gioberti's Modern Jesuit, and Father Venhera's Discourse on the Dead of Vienna."

The Decree says: "Itaque nemo cujuscumque gradus et conditionis prædicta opera damnata atque proscripta, quocumque loco, e quacumque idiomate, aut in posterum edere, aut edita legere, vel retinere audeat, sed locorum Ordinariis, aut hereticæ pravitatis Inquisitoribus ea tradere teneatur sub pœnis in Indice librorum vetitorum indictis."

[Therefore, nobody of whatever grade and condition, the aforesaid condemned and proscribed works, in any place or in any language whatever, shall either dare to read or to possess, but shall be bound to deliver them to the Ordinaries (Bishops) of the places, or to the INQUISITORS of heretical pravity, under the penalties indicated in the Index of prohibited books.]

It may be well to notice two or three things here:

1st. The Pope claims the power and right of forbidding everybody, in every part of the world, from reading whatever book he chooses.

2nd. His bishops, in this part of his system, do the work of *Inquisitors*, where the latter are not to be found.

3rd. The Pope claims the authority to punish persons in any part of the world *where he can*, with cruel punishments, if they read books which he prohibits.

## RESTORATION OF POPE GREGORY'S SPIES.

A letter from Rome, published in Switzerland in September, 1850, contains the following :—

“The Duke of Reggio needed spies to carry on his dark designs ; and none could be found, so well adapted to his use as the men of the old Gregorian police. He engaged them, and put the famous spy Galanti at their heads. All the parties were well worthy of each other ; and what hope can there be for men, who understand the dignity and honor of their conduct, and are too honest to keep silence ? It was enough for this gang to know that they were protected by the French bayonets, in their violence, and they made numerous arrests by day and by night, of persons who, after three, four or five days' imprisonment, were released without an examination, without being able to get any information of the cause. These are beautiful examples of the ‘liberty and good order’ promised us by France. It is thus that the Republican ‘anarchy’ is to put down, which they talked of so much, and have sought in vain to find. What will Europe say of this new-fashioned liberty ? And can you credit what this French-priestly liberty is bringing us to ?”

A student of Velletri was brought before a council of war, and condemned for an attempt at homicide, only because he had exhorted a friend, who, on the day when the French entered Rome conversed with a French officer, to avoid such meetings lest he should expose himself to the resentment of the people, who fulminated anathemas against all who were seen holding intercourse, even accidentally, with enemy-oppressors.

Among the old spies of the Papal government who have

resumed the exercise of the noble office of serving the new Governor, was the hungry Ferrini, a man execrated by public opinion, for the abominable deeds which he had committed. Having the entire confidence of the General, he resolved to revenge himself on the advocate Raggi, who had condignly condemned him at a public trial. The malefactor had him arrested by night, although he had offended only by speaking the truth.

CHRONICLES OF DESPOTISM IN ITALY, IN 1849.

*Immediate effects of the Restoration of Pope Pius IX.*

August 8th. *At Bologna.* The Chaplain Hugo Bassi, and Captain Ligraghi, of Garibaldi's column, were shot. The former had first the skin cut off from his hands, forehead, and crown, to desecrate him, having been a priest. This was done by the Cardinal.

12th. *In Rome.* The French General, Sauban, and his officers disturbed and interrupted the funeral of Colonel Melara, who was wounded on the 5th.

Signor Belli condemned to death.

20th. *At Ancona.* Erminio Monsignori received thirty blows, because arms were found in a bundle containing his initials.

*At Fuligno.* Antonio Tierani shot by the Austrians. He had been a Commissary of Police at Forli.

13th and 15th. *At Bergamo.* Domenico Caremini and Giuseppe Peloli, condemned to death for having arms.

21st. *At Rome.* G. Fabiana, called the Carbonaretto, and head of the people, arrested.

19th. *At Cesena.* Galeffi and Manni arrested for reorganizing the Civic Guard, at the Governor's orders.



25th. *At Ancona.* Tommasso Ricci shot, for having arms.

23d. *At Milan.* Twenty persons publicly whipped, and among them two young ladies, charged with being engaged in the tumult of August 20th, in consequence of a black flag placed at the window of an Austrian woman of infamous character. (The names of all are given.) Those of the females are, Ernesta Galli and Maria Conti, both twenty years of age. The city had to pay a fine of thirty thousand lire, for insulting the woman, and the expense of vinegar and bandages used for the sufferers, as well as the rods broken in beating them.

30th. *Venice* besieged.

September 3d. *At Bologna.* Contoli and Coroli condemned to death, having arms.

4th. The Austrian Governor, Strassoldo, threatens with death all who conceal or aids the intentioned persons.

4th. *At Faenza.* A. Namini, G. Valmorri, Dalla Valle and others arrested.

6th. *At Ancona.* Giovanni Pinochi shot for having arms. Benedetto Lucaroni, for insulting language to Austrian troops, condemned to chains for four weeks, twice to receive twenty blows and to have only bread and water two days in each week.

10th. *At Rome.* Polidori, Sacconi and Trevisani arrested. Attilio Faella, a representative of the people, arrested, and consigned to the authorities of Imola.

*At Faenza.* Natale Poggiali arrested, taken to Castelfranco and put into the fort.

*At Piedmont.* General Garibaldi arrested, and obliged to emigrate to Tunis.

*At Zagarolo.* A husband shot his wife, to save her from the

violence of Spanish soldiers, who, in revenge, shot three inhabitants.

11th and 12th. *At Udine.* Giacomo Crovichi and Leonardo Pozzo shot, for having arms

12th. *At Bologna.* Giuseppe Cappelli condemned to the galleys for three years ; Zellini and Rossi to prison for three months, for having arms.

September 16th. *Bologna.* Barsani, a soldier of Garibaldi, shot.

16th and 21st. Three men shot for having arms.

21st. One condemned to the galleys, and two to six months' imprisonment for the same.

27th. Two more ditto. One man four years ditto, for insulting language to a sentinel. Another, six months for wearing the tri-color.

*Gubbio.* The bishop put in vigor the edict of Paul IV., against swearing : viz. twenty-five dollars fine for heresy, to stand in church with their lips sewed up, and liable to be punished by being burnt to death.

*Rome, September.* The Pope's "Propria motu" published. Seven thousand persons proscribed. All the Presides of towns are priests. All the bad functionaries of Gregory restored to power. Estates forfeited restored to the priests.

*October.* All remaining deputies of the Republic are forced to leave the country.

*Naples.* All the deputies forced to fly.

*Sicily, September.* All property restored to the religious orders, even such as had been sold.

*Parma.* Pontremoli in a state of siege. The Benedictines.

driven away, as liberals; and the Jesuits recalled. Two men were shot, because no hangman could be found.

*Como.* The little town of Tremezzo fined five thousand lire, because an inhabitant fed a deserter.

*Musso.* Fined three thousand, because a little boy threw a stone at a custom-house officer. A deputy beaten by an officer.

*Piedmont and France.* France expels Garibaldi from Tunis, and Piedmont drives him from Genoa and Sardinia.

*November, 1849, in Rome.*

The French promised liberty in moderation, good order and physical comfort.

*The Reality.*—As for *liberty*, we have neither printing nor a tribune, but despotism, more brutish and ferocious than under Gregory XVI.—exile, shooting, bastonading, imprisonments, trials and deprivations by thousands.—As for *order*, anarchy, Spanish, Neapolitan, French and Austrian rulers, Commissaries from Gaëta, a Triumvirate of Cardinals, Legates and Prolegates, contradicting one another; and streets and cities infested with robbers.—As for *physical comforts*—the payments of interests on Consols stopped, paper money at one half, the odious tax of the Macinata restored, salt at a higher price, oppressive duties on doors and windows, on capital and real estates, lands distributed to farmers reclaimed, credits on the state not recognized, poor families driven from the habitations assigned them by the Republic, ancient abuses restored and encouraged, the Jesuits recalled, estates in mort-main restored, the public establishments put again into the hands of the clergy and the tax at the barriers revived.

13th. More than eighty persons brutally taken to prison, for expressing grief at the funeral obsequies celebrated in memory of those slain in the service of the country. Among those arrested are the three sisters Signore Castellani, and Signora Narducci, mother of the young officer of that name, who fell in the battle of April 30th. The French soldiers seized those prisoners, and were saluted by the people by the title of "Sbirracci d'un Papaccio." [Infamous tools of an infamous Pope.]

16th. *At Verona.* Antonio Moschine shot, for having arms.

17th. *At Bologna.* Four persons condemned to many months imprisonment, for the same.

18th. *At Maurato.* F. Capannini and G. Farelli imprisoned, for the same.

*At Imola.* Lambertini, Baroncini and Nasi arrested for the same.

*At Messina (Sicily).* Five hundred persons arrested for political offences.

*Kingdom of Naples.* Arrests continued in the city and provinces. The number of political prisoners is more than thirty thousand.

*At Modena.* Two men condemned to five and fifteen years in the galleys, for having arms. (Names we omit here and before, and abbreviate the details before us.)

19th. *Parma.* Above thirty professors and other persons in employments suspended.

*Palermo.* Heavy tax on windows; the house where the national parliament met, solemnly closed, and eleven persons arrested.

*Bondeno.* Three condemnations to a year's imprisonment, for having arms.

20th. *Venice*. A lady, injured by an Austrian soldier, reproached him, and was bastonaded. Repeating her reproaches while under the bastonado, she was bastonaded more. She was soon silent—for she was dead.

*Rome*. Three arrests.

*Modena*. Morazzoli, twenty years old, condemned to the galleys for twenty years for having a knife locked up.

*Rome*. "A parrot condemned to death for saying, 'Viva la Republica.'"

21st. *Umbria*. The hungry Inquisitorial Commissioners of Pope Gregory are sent into the provinces.

24th. *Florence*. Leopold of Austria, (the Grand Duke of Tuscany,) confiding in his people, keeps a guard of ten thousand Austrians and Neapolitan gendarmes.

28th. *Rome*. The tax on grinding corn restored.

December 1st. The Jesuits recalled to Rome, Forli, Cesena, and Loreto.

*Spoletto*. Three hundred in prison for two months, ill fed and ill treated, and not yet interrogated.

2d. *Piacenza*. The Duke came to the city, to see two young men whipped, for wearing tri-colored cravats. He has made a Jesuit head-magistrate.

*Rimini*. The bishop fines all two dollars who are absent from mass. "The days of the Albigenses have returned."

3d. *Lucca*. The municipality dissolved, for wishing to guard the hospitals against abuses and depredations.

1st. *Rome*. One of the Pope's prelates was caught by French soldiers at Albano, drunk on wine he had stolen. The Cardinals interfered and prevented his punishment.

*Venice.* A young girl was whipped for speaking against the government, and on retiring said : " Now, I may be permitted to hate you ! " She was whipped again, until the physician said she would be killed. The Croats then cut off her hair, as a further punishment.

3d. *Pescaro.* The bishop fines four paoli for " compound swearing," and only two for " simple swearing."

4th. *Rome.* Arrested, on suspicion, seventy-two workmen at once.

5th. The Cardinals decided that the gratuitous loan offered to the Pope by the clergy, in 1848, shall have no more effect.

*Orvieto.* The Jesuits returned.

*Bologna.* The Pope's commissary has put his ignorant favorites into the places of the professors vacated, and dismisses students and officers who do not attend the spiritual exercises. The confessors refuse absolution to persons who voted for the Constituent Assembly.

8th. The loan of one and a half million dollars to the Republic, by the bank, not acknowledged by the government.

*Ancona.* Three men sent to prison for having arms ; one of them seventy years old.

10th. Two in Bologna for the same.

12th. The Papist Diamilla is discovered to be the robber of the Vatican Medals, though the prelates intended to charge it on Sterbini.

*Florence.* The Grand Duke tolerates a priest who preaches that all Italians who fought against Austria are damned.

24th. *Rome.* Imposts increased fifteen per cent. The old tax doubled on water of three of the fountains.

Count Sacconi arrested at Montalto.

28th. Three hundred and twenty-five public employés displaced. Forty-five of these officers are exiled.

30th. The Pope calls by an infamous name, the ladies who attended the wounded in the hospitals.

1850. The Inquisition continues its operations against persons in public employments, from ten to twenty of whom are turned out every day, without reasons given, the accusers kept secret. Hundreds of these poor men were seen going about to persons in power, who insult them, and sell their places to richer men. No salaries are given to poor men. Rich merchants and gentlemen are threatened with the persecution of their clerks, &c., who are hated by the priests and their partisans, to extort money. Wounded men, expelled from the hospitals, beg in the streets. A gold medal has been sent to General Oudinot, the bombardier of Rome, by the municipality. It bears these words :—

*“For having thought of the salvation of the citizens and the fine arts.”*

*Padua.* Twenty-two persons arrested at a supper. Nine still in prison. Professor Giacomini died under an Austrian bastonado, for uttering a few words.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

REFLECTIONS on the preceding Chapters.—The Italian question interesting to Americans.—Its practical relations.

At the introduction to this volume the remark was made, that an American ought to write on the subject of it, for American readers. One of the strongest reasons demanding this is, the impression in favor of Popery which has been made by its advocates in this country. For many years some of the leading bishops and priests have labored through the press and at political meetings, as well as in public lectures, sermons, and more indirect means, to lead American Protestants to the belief, that Popish doctrines and practices are very different from what they have been said to be ; from what, in short, they have for centuries been seen and known to be, and from what they have claimed and gloried to be, in other countries. These pretensions have been brought forward in so many and such various, and insinuating forms, that some minds have been quite perverted by them, many more favorably impressed, and multitudes thrown into doubt. And one influence has been so exerted as to cooperate with another, that the effects are visible on every side. For example: a parent who has been misled, by any of the means employed to recommend Popery, may send his child



to a nunnery or other school, under the influence of priests, and thus is prepared to have all his family drawn more to favor a system, which he would have shunned from the first, if he had seen it as it is. A politician is approached with an offer of votes, because he is told that he is regarded as a man of superior discernment or liberality ; and another man, educated as a Protestant, is raised to a desired office by those who have done it for their own purposes merely, and will know how to use him when the time arrives. He may boast of his own independence, fairness, tolerance or discernment, but he will always be, and always by intelligent observers will be seen to be, a mere puppet in the hands of the crafty, without a spark left of the Promethean fire which is necessary to make a man, a good public officer and public blessing in this Western world, where selfish and intriguing hypocrites are the only enemies. If there be a man of this class (this too numerous class) not too ignorant or prejudiced to see where he is, and one single spark of patriotism, honesty, or truth exists within him, let him burst his bonds, and display for once an independence worthy of the name. There are facts in this book, small as it is, to prove that Popery is incontestibly and necessarily, from her very nature, inconsistent with civil and religious liberty ; that she still openly claims to be so in every country but this ; and there she confesses, while denying it here, that she has no hope of receiving respect or gaining converts among us, but by pretending and appearing to be exactly what she is not.

It is no great disgrace to persons of certain descriptions and in particular positions, to be influenced by the pretences referred to. The purity, freedom, and honesty of manners prevailing in

American Protestant society, and the intelligence, virtue, and truth which flow from our open Bibles, forbid the home-production of such men as Jesuits and Inquisitors : but they too often favor a confidence in their agents among us, when they deny as far as they can, by word and open deed, the most obnoxious parts of their doctrines, character, and designs. It is a natural trait of charity, that it "thinketh no evil." And there is another fact which is important to be kept in mind : a great part of the oppressive and cruel system of Rome is connected with offences and courses of so shameful a nature, that we cannot even describe or mention them, without deeply offending propriety—nay, without an unpardonable offence against what, in this *Protestant* country, bears the name of decency and good morals. When, a few years since, extracts were published in this country from the standard book studied and taught in the Roman Catholic seminary at Maynooth in Ireland, the questions given in it, to be put to young women by priests at the confessional, while unheard by others and alone, were so indecent and shameful, that they were not believed by many to be genuine, until the truth was known. Objections were then made against their publication, although the worst were in Latin ; and the Romish ecclesiastics here could find nothing to say, but that the extracts were genuine, but they were not intended to be made public. Parents, husbands and brothers, in some instances, decided for themselves, that if it was an offence to extract and publish them, they never would submit to have them whispered into the ears of their daughters, wives or sisters ; and there is reason to believe that the confessionals were less frequented, at least until they became less a matter of attention and enquiry.

Now there probably is not a Roman Catholic of virtue and intelligence in the United States, male or female, who would not feel indignant if this subject were presented in its own nature before his eyes, and, if induced to speak out, would not condemn it with abhorrence.

The facts and considerations presented in the preceding pages may well be expected to fix the attention and interest the feelings of every intelligent American. No one, who apprehends the actual condition of the Italians and the character they have displayed, can avoid wishing that they may be delivered from the oppressive yoke they have so long and so unwillingly endured, and enjoy the freedom which they so richly deserve. But by those who view with the eyes of fellow Christians the services which many of them have rendered, in the labors and sacrifices they made, to the cause of evangelical religion, their history, their designs and their prospects will be regarded with feelings of a superior and still more solemn nature. They have profitted by the long and severe experience they have passed through; and, by the study of that Gospel which they are forbidden to read by their priests, and have been led to adopt a great and noble resolution, which would ennoble any country in which it should be put in practice: declaring that the Gospel is their only hope, and that the general knowledge and obedience of it is the duty and shall be the privilege of all.

Can it be that such an idea has been, to any great extent, adopted? Can it be that the Italians, in great numbers, have formed such a resolution? It is indeed true: and he that shall make our countrymen know the fact, will find them pre-disposed to act upon it with all their hearts.

There is one consideration which presents itself with peculiar force to every American Christian. One of the most powerful lessons which the Italians have received in favor of the Gospel, is that practical one derived from the example of our country, in her course of freedom and prosperity, under the free, civil and religious institutions which we enjoy. They have had the sagacity and fairness to discover and admit, that our political freedom has sprung from our religious principles and is sustained by them. No other nation, no other band of men, in any distant country, have made this discovery : and how great is the loss of those millions who are governed by rulers who have not this great principle in view ! The Italians have discovered it, and we may thank God, both for them and for ourselves.

And now we have a few assertions to make, accompanied with challenges to all the enemies and opposers of the Roman Republicans to deny. We believe that, in this, we shall have the justification of our readers—even their approbation and hearty, and decided co-operation. We fancy they must feel with us, after listening to the recital of the events of the past months, so full of instruction and encouragement. Who will not acknowledge, that the Romans have embraced the principles which we most highly prize, and have displayed a spirit and conduct in their defence, worthy of our applause, admiration, sympathy and assistance ? Who can deny the duty of an American to advocate their cause ; nay, to adopt it as his own ? Who can refuse a tribute of gratitude, due to their noble deeds, when he contemplates the hydra-headed monster stalking, or rather skulking, through our land, and seeking its ruin ; and sees in its very home a strong and fearless hand wielding the

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holy weapon which is destined to stab it to the heart! Who does not feel the propriety, after the preceding review, of telling those who misrepresent the Romans to their American brethren, that in this and that particular case they have belied them, inviting them to deny our charges if they can? And, if no satisfactory evidence should be brought before the world, to sustain their declarations, shall not the exposure of such misrepresentations, after the clear proof of their falsehood, convince us all of the desperate state of their cause, and the shameful means to which they resort in its favor?

The French Government may be charged with repeated acts of duplicity and self-contradiction; with disgracing and injuring the cause of republicanism in Europe, by their unjustifiable, false and savage treatment of the Romans. All their advocates may safely be invited to offer for their conduct any satisfactory explanation or excuse.

A P P E N D I X ,

CHAPTER I.

Biographical Sketch of Signor Foresti.

The young Roman Republican Government felt the importance of having a legal and solemn recognition of the Republic by the United States of America, whose influence on the ancient political system of Europe is so great, and increasing. They, therefore, appointed Signor E. Felice Foresti, a native of Ferrara, formerly a lawyer, and long a friend of Mazzini, Garibaldi and Avezzana, and many members of the Constituent Assembly, as their Minister Plenipotentiary. He has been a faithful and unchangeable patriot, well known in Italy, and esteemed for integrity and ability, of which he has given proofs in his country and our own, where he has resided as an exile for fourteen years, enjoying the well-merited esteem, respect, and friendship of many of our most respectable families.

Foresti was one of those brave and ardent Italian youth, who, in 1820, organized a vast and powerful conspiracy throughout their country, to deliver it from the despotic, foreign and domestic tyranny under which it suffered. The attempt was

successful from Piedmont to Naples, and the effect would have been permanent, if the European powers had not united, as usual, to suffocate and suppress, by force of arms, that noble national enterprize.

He was condemned to death in 1821, at Venice ; and his punishment was commuted to twenty years of severe imprisonment ("carcere duro") at Spielberg. After fifteen years of that cruel suffering, he was banished for ever to America, with Count Confalonieri, Dr. Bersieri, Dr. Castiglia, and six other distinguished Italian citizens. All his companions were pardoned, after a few years of exile, and some of them returned to their country, while others preferred to remain in exile. Foresti was expressly excluded from the amnesty by Austria ; that government never having been able to forget, that he was the first who had the hardihood to extend the line of conspiracy in 1820, to the Austrian States, in which he was a judge. His sisters (without his knowledge, and while he was in America,) requested first of Pope Gregory XVI., afterwards of Pius IX., his recal from exile. Gregory, by means of the execrated Cardinal Lambruschini, sent back the petition without any reply but total silence. Pius IX. allowed him to return to Italy in 1848, but only as a foreigner, without either civil or political rights ; and he, therefore, remained, in fact, as he had before been, an exile from his country.

The following extracts from several foreign writers, convey just, as well as interesting ideas of the life and character of this distinguished man :

From "Memoirs of a Prisoner of State," by Andryane, a French author. London edition of 1840, vol. ii. page 69. "Fo-

resti was a judge, in the neighborhood of Rovigo, gifted with uncommon energy, and sustains bravely the hardships of captivity. With his talents and character, Foresti would have done honor to Italy, had she been free. A foe to the foreigner, he became a Carbonaro. Salvati, the presiding judge on the trial, and an aulic councillor, sent expressly by the Emperor, when his sentence was about to be pronounced, subjected him to cruel trials : but he displayed admirable firmness ; and it is certain that his imprisonment, however long and grievous it may be, will never extinguish or stifle in his heart the love of *Italian Independence*."

In Chapter XII., page 142, the author, speaking of the exertions made by the poor prisoners of Spielberg, to extend their knowledge in the sciences and letters, in spite of the cruel decree of the sovereign, forbidding them to read books, says : "Nor have I felt less grief when thinking, that Foresti, who was deeply versed in jurisprudence and political economy, would never be able to develop his comprehensive views, for want of materials and free exercise of thought."

In "Italy, past and present," (London edition of 1849, pages 191 to 196,) the torments applied to the Spielberg prisoners are minutely described, with their magnanimous resistance and the constant secrecy which they preserved, in spite of the sufferings to which they were subjected, by the order of the Emperor Ferdinand I. "Under such circumstances," says the author, "silence and apathy were the only defensive weapons : the only resource left to the prisoners. A dignified contempt, a passive contumaciousness, were sure to drive, as it actually drove, their royal gaoler to madness. * * It was that which shortened the



E. Felice Foresti

Emperor's days ; that it was which constituted the immortal triumph of the martyrs of Spielberg."

But this triumph was dearly bought by the poor prisoners. Confalonieri always lay languishing in bed ; Orobini, Moretti, Albertini and Villa died ; and Maroncelli lost one of his legs. But, continues the same author, " Out of so many, one only seemed to rise superior to all mental and bodily anguish. Andryane has depicted him, in few words, as the man with the stern look and bushy eyebrows, who appeared to bear his fate in such a manner as ought to have reconciled his companions to their own. He bore himself up like Ajax, muttering between his teeth : ' I will foil them yet, even though the gods oppose me ! ' That man was Felice Foresti. He was the first arrested, the last set at liberty. For full fifteen years he was shut up in the darkest of their dungeons. His silent stubbornness, his indomitable pride called down upon all the most ingenious severity of his craven tormentors : yet his unwearied longanimity baffled them. He contrived to fatten on viands, by which poor Pellico was sickened to death. He knit and made lint with the assiduity of an industrious house-wife. He had a withering smile for every new infliction of suffering : but, when goaded into real passion, his gaolers trembled before him. They called him *the ferocious Foresti*. His cell was dreaded and shunned, like the lion's den. Priests and Commissaries were fain to let him alone. Out of so many that left those dungeons mere wrecks of humanity, he alone came out unbroken. He may be seen even now, walking erect, cheerful, about the streets of New York. mild, affable, in his manners, looked up to by the whole community,

and yet plain, unassuming, as if unconscious of his victory in the severest struggle that mortals were ever made to undergo."

Miss Sedgwick, in her "Letters from Abroad," vol. ii. p. 116. New York edition, 1841, speaking of Ferrara, his native place, says: "Its chief interest to us results from its being the home of our friend Foresti, whose character does it more honor than all this princely house (of Este) from beginning to end. There is a moral that is universal; and wherever man exists, in savage or in civilized life, he renders an instinctive homage to such an uncompromising pursuit of justice, and love of freedom as Foresti has manifested, in persecution, in prison, in bonds, and under sentence of death. I believe, that if, at this moment, his youth, country, and high position could be restored to him, with experience of sixteen years of chains, and most dreary imprisonment, he would again sacrifice all, and suffer all over again, in the sacred cause, such is the uncrushable material of his noble character."

✓ This was the man selected by the Republican Government of Rome to be its representative in our country. But, at the time when he received their decree naming him their diplomatic Minister, the French were known to be closely pressing the siege of the city, communications were cut off, and little doubt existed that it had already been entered by the overwhelming forces of the four nations, called out by the Pope for its reduction.

CHAPTER II.

APPENDIX concluded.—The Italian National Committee.—The Romans retain the characteristics of their ancestors.—Truths proved by the history of the Roman Republic of 1849.—The popular sentiment.

On the fourth of July, 1849, Rome having fallen by foreign arms, some representatives of the people, convinced that this event was but the first page of the revival of the Italian people, and firm in their belief in the prospects of their country, adopted, in the name of God and of the people, the following Act:—

“Considering :

“That no government is legitimate unless it represent *the people* over whom it presides, and be freely recognized by that people :

“That the *national* desire of Rome is now incontestably that of *Independence*, of *Liberty*, and of *Italian Unity* :

“That the present government of Rome, implanted and *maintained* by the force of foreign arms on the ruins of the People’s Republic, does not represent that desire :

“Considering, also,

“That for the speedy development and for the ultimate triumph of the national object, the union, and the regular action of all the elements now isolated and deprived of a common direction are required :

"That this object can only be attained by the institution of a central directing body :

"That it little matters where such central body exists and acts, provided the will of the nation be better represented and promoted by it than by any of the existing governments :

"Considering, lastly,

"That the Roman Constituent Assembly, by virtue of its direct and legitimate election by the people, by virtue of the principle proclaimed in its first deliberation, and by its own acts, increasing the glory and the future hopes of the nation, has been latterly the power which most legitimately and perfectly represents the nation ;

"That Venice, where, after the fall of Rome, the representation of the nation might be concentrated; is now surrounded by enemies, and *on the eve of succumbing* :

"That misfortune and exile do not lessen or interrupt the rights and duties of a People and its representatives, but confirm and sanction them :

"We, Representatives of the People, Members of the Roman Constituent Assembly, obeying the voice of our consciences, and mindful of the wants of the nation, constitute provisionally, and until the People shall be enabled freely to manifest its wishes, an Italian National Committee, composed of the following citizens :—

"Joseph Mazzini, ex-triumvir of the Roman Republic,

"Aurelio Saffi, idem,

"Mattia Montecchi, idem, in the Executive Committee of the Roman Republic.

"And we entrust them with the mandate, and confer upon

them the power of CONTRACTING A LOAN in the name of the Roman People, and in behalf of the National cause; and generally of promoting, by every useful political or financial act, the re-establishment in Rome of the legitimate authority of the People—empowering them to add to their number, if necessary, two or more other Italian citizens—and appealing to all true Italians to assist them by every possible means in the execution of their labor, and to conform themselves, as much as possible, to any regulations that they may issue in the interest of the nation at large.

“Rome, July 4, 1849.”

The Romans, says a distinguished Italian writer, after many centuries of conflict, apparently bent their necks to the Papal power, which for the purpose of conquering them, had put into operation every kind of fraud and violence. Circumstances favorable to the manifestation of their will and their feelings, were at length presented; and in 1849 the Romans, with one consent, returned to that form of government under which their fathers had risen to such fame, and proved, by deeds, that they were still worthy to be called Republicans.

The rapid passage of both the Greeks and Romans from slavery to liberty, from physical and moral debasement to wisdom and courage, clearly shows that, while there is no human force sufficient to change the material conditions of their country, so there is no force, or tyranny, or other human iniquity, able to change their physical or moral nature. And, in these two nations, the return to wisdom and courage will always be more rapid and complete than among other people, because, having

their minds filled with the glorious memory of their ancient history, and daily looking upon the imposing monuments left by their fathers, struck with veneration and wonder, they feel a burning desire to imitate the deeds of antiquity; and, at the same time, a supreme disdain of their present degradation.

With these things in view, we must cease to wonder, and regard as a natural result what I am about to show, viz.; that the modern Romans, both physically and morally, greatly resemble their ancestors; and from this I shall draw the consequence, that, if time shall bring about favorable circumstances, those virtues will reappear in them, which render men great and powerful in the world. Such an assertion would have appeared paradoxical a few years ago, to those who, contenting themselves with superficial observations, did not understand the internal character of that people.

It is acknowledged by all, that it is sufficient to look at the portraits of ancient Romans, preserved to our time in the numerous statues and bass-reliefs, and the two columns of Antonine and Trajan, to be convinced that the forms of men and women of modern Rome have in no respect changed from the ancient. And, so true is this, that the greatest artists, when they wish to paint or represent in sculpture the deeds of ancient Rome, always seek for models in the quarters where the true Roman people are to be found; and the celebrated Pinelli, who lived in the midst of that people, found in them the true type of the Romans of the ancient Republic, and preserved it in his admirable works. This resemblance of form would alone be enough to lead to the conjecture, on strong grounds, of a resemblance in character and habits; but, by recurring to history, and attentive-

ly regarding the moral disposition of the modern Romans, we shall find three qualities dominant in their nature, which place beyond all doubt the perfect resemblance between them and their ancestors, even back to the illustrious days of the Republic. And these dominant qualities are a great *love of liberty*, an acute reasoning *intellect*, and *contempt of death*.

When these three qualities of the mind are united, by the care and favor of heaven, to form the basis of the moral character of a people, it need not be thought wonderful if they think well of themselves, and believe they are called to take a high rank in the world.

The chief means by which the Italians have again been reduced to the suffering condition from which they had endeavored to deliver themselves, were deceit and treachery. Though painful to say it, England had a chief hand in the arrangements by which this was effected. In Sicily, she for a while protected the patriots, and afterwards restored the power of the perfidious and bloody King of Naples. In Tuscany, the hands of the British diplomatist may have been less conspicuous : but they, doubtless, played their part ; while they were prominent in the arrangement with Charles Albert in the North, by which Lombardy and Sardinia were recovered to Austrian influence. The latter country is at present the scene of a *quasi* reforming system : but, so far as the chief directors of politics are concerned, there is strong reason to believe they are only carrying on a plan of flattering but insincere policy, with the intention of seizing the first opportunity to turn all against the people. It is sufficient to know that Azelio, the traitor to Italian liberty, is Prime Minister, and that his brother, a leading Jesuit, has been placed at his right

hand, and has influence in all important affairs. The Romans were reduced by means which the reader has now reviewed.

Facts have been shown, in the course of this work, to sustain the opinions expressed in the Introduction, among which are the following : 1st, That the Romans are sincerely and irreconcilably opposed to the Popish government ; 2d, That they are intelligent and brave in defence of their cause ; 3d, That that cause is the cause of civil and religious liberty ; 4th, That they have proved themselves its worthy champions, by their humanity, moderation, refinement and perseverance ; 5th, That they have the highest claim on the respect, sympathy, and gratitude of Americans ; and 6th, That in their urgent request for our aid in diffusing Evangelical knowledge in Italy, they deserve our immediate, cordial, and liberal assistance.

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